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TEXAS

AND

THE TEXANS;

OR,

ADVANCE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICANS
TO THE SOUTH-WEST;

INCLUDING A HISTORY OF
LEADING EVENTS IN MEXICO, FROM THE CONQUEST BY
FERNANDO CORTES TO THE TERMINATION
OF THE TEXAN REVOLUTION.

'MAGNA EST VERITAS, ET PREVALEBIT.'

Heaven is free
From clouds, but of *all* colours seems to be
Melted to one vast Iris of the *West*,
Where the *Day* joins the great *Eternity*;
While, on the other hand, meek Dian's crest
Floats through the azure air, a region of the blest!
A single star is at her side, and reigns
With her o'er half the lovely heaven.

BY HENRY STUART FOOTE

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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TEXAS AND THE TEXANS.

CHAPTER I.

View of Texas as contrasted with the Mexican provinces generally. Scheme for her subduction. Colonization from the United States obstructed. Custom-houses established. Oppression growing out of the conduct of the Mexican custom-house officers and military Commandants sent on to sustain them. Dissatisfaction of the Colony: politic arrangements of Austin. Arrival of Dr. Archer: his character. Public meetings: affair of Anahuac: revolt of the Colonists and destruction of the Fort at Velasco; followed by the general downfall of the power of Bustamente in Texas. Good fortune of Texas in escaping the hostility of the Government of Mexico for the present.

From the shocking and loathsome scenes of barbaric contention and uproar, the fell progress of which we have been surveying in Mexico—in which unhappy country the foulest and most fiendish passions which are permitted to set up their hellish dominion in the human heart, were rioting in unchecked wantonness—sweeping away in their whirlwind-course of desolation all the vestiges of civil and religious liberty, and scattering, as it were, a strange and ominous forgetfulness even of the *names* of the social virtues—from these scenes, over which the sensibility of the philanthropist must sicken with sorrow and disgust, and the generous-minded believer in man's moral perfectibility must find his most cherished hopes, for a moment at least, to grow faint and languishing, let us turn once more to "Texas and the Texans," and behold the lofty actions of a superior race of men; who, amidst perils and difficulties, such as no people of ancient or modern times have encountered, sustained and energized by a fervid and unextinguishable love of freedom, and made bold as well as steadfast by an accurate knowledge of the great *principles* on which liberty alone depends, were outstripping even the older nations of the civilized world in the sublime race of moral glory.

The tyrannic domination of Bustamente was, happily, not long enough continued to enable that monster of iniquity to inflict any very serious detriment upon the interests of Liberty in Texas, whose remoteness from the Mexican capital — the centre and focus of Despotism — saved the American colonists spread over this new Arcadia from most of the oppression and injustice which fell upon other portions of the Republic. It is certain, though, that this lynx-eyed usurper did not entirely overlook Texas; nor was he at all insensible of the danger which existed that the heroic energy of the Anglo-Americans, though few in number at present, yet continually on the increase, might one day tumble the gilded fabric of consolidation which, with treacherous selfishness he was attempting to build up, in utter ruin about his own guilty head. In order to guard against a catastrophe so much to be dreaded, he took care to provide by congressional enactment against any farther admission of emigrants into Texas from the United States, none of whom were thereafter to be recognised as citizens, or be permitted to hold lands. This precaution was even deemed insufficient, for he feared the twenty thousand Anglo-Americans already established in Texas, and resolved to commence a course of persecution towards them which might have the effect, either of driving them back to their native country, or, by provoking them to revolt before they were prepared to conflict with the power of the Mexican Republic, afford him a plausible pretext for marching in upon them and signalizing a second Fredonian triumph. With these objects in view, he established custom-houses along the whole Texan coast, consigning them to the management of agents whom he could completely trust, and directed that every species of extortion and fraud should be practised upon the colonists by these myrmidons, promising to send on immediately a strong military force to protect them against colonial violence. In conformity with this deliberately-formed scheme of hostility, forts were erected at Nacogdoches, Anahuac, and Velasco, which were to serve in part as military garrisons, occupied by soldiers ever ready to act in aid of the custom-house officers, and in part, also, as *prisons*, wherein were to be incarcerated such of the colonists as had chanced in any way to give offence to the officers of government, or who were considered particularly dangerous by reason of their high standing and commanding influence among their brother Americans. Within the precincts of these forts, were to proceed all trials of accused colonists, before military tribunals, in a secret manner, without the aid either of Jury or Counsel, and without any of the other customary means of vindication, known and valued in all countries pretending to be free. This odious system was promptly put in force according to the plan of its heartless projector; and became a plenteous source of daily and hourly harassment and vexation to the colonists. Various respectable citizens were apprehended and held in close custody upon mere suggestions of disaffection to the government; the civil authority in several municipalities was declared null, and every grievance which the "pelting, petty" ministers of executive cruelty could inflict, was felt by a population who, until now, had flattered themselves with a long continuation of that halcyon season of repose which they had enjoyed under the paternal rule of their venerated Empresario.

It would be doing grievous wrong to the colonists to suppose that they were at all alarmed by the hostile machinery which the Mexican government had now introduced in their midst, and whose assailment of their rights and privileges was unceasing. That they were justly indignant at the treatment with which they were visited, is entirely true; and that they began to think of resisting a tyrannical government, which seemed bent on their destruction, is equally true; and they would have been unworthy of the noble descent which they claimed, or of the glorious destiny which their valour has since earned for them, had they remained meanly submissive under such outrages as they were now suffering, and had not boldly cast about them for an appropriate remedy.

The conduct of Colonel Austin at this trying juncture, was consistent with his previous history, and in beautiful keeping with his peculiar characteristics. He was a sincere lover of peace, and was capable of all honourable sacrifices for its preservation. He was devoted to his beloved colonists, and had ever shown himself willing to encounter any peril, and to endure any amount of personal discomfort, in order to promote their happiness. His heart was painfully lacerated by the injustice under which they now groaned, and his noble spirit was properly resentful of the indignities so lavishly heaped upon them. Yet his voice was not heard in public denunciation of the government, nor did he recommend to the colonists an immediate resort to arms. The fact is, that he had ever calculated, as has been already more than once stated, upon the ultimate severance of Texas from Mexico; he did not wish for it; he did not *arrange* for it; but he had never thought a permanent and affectionate union between two races so dissimilar, and so strongly contrasted to each other in several vital points, a thing even possible. He had desired to postpone the act of severance as long as practicable, at least until Texas should become strong enough to work out her deliverance without being compelled to pass through a tedious and sanguinary struggle. Recent occurrences in Mexico had satisfied him that no prudence on his part or on the part of the American colonists in Texas, could much longer defer the moment of decisive action; and he had been quietly but assiduously preparing for it for some time past. Knowing that Texas was not yet able to conflict with Mexico without foreign aid, he had turned his attention to the United States, and had opened a correspondence with several distinguished men there, whose sympathies he strove to interest in the fate of his colony. He had been quite successful in these judicious endeavours, and had good reason to hope, that when the expected rupture should be forced upon the colonists, more than one eloquent voice in his native country would be heard thundering in behalf of "Texas and the Texans."

The provident sagacity of Colonel Austin had been displayed in a manner not perhaps even yet known to many persons; he had specially invited, with a view to the expected collision with Mexico, a particular gentleman, celebrated alike for his chivalry and extraordinary powers of popular persuasion, to abandon his home in the "Ancient Dominion," and sally forth to the wilderness in quest of high moral adventure. The person thus invited, was no other than *Dr. Branch T. Archer*, already mentioned as the present Secretary of War, in Texas, and as one of the associates of Colonel Burr, in the year 1806. Dr. Archer was solicited to settle in Texas by Col. Austin, through the honourable John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, a beloved schoolmate in early life, the firm and affectionate friend of his riper years. No man could be better adapted to honourable revolutionary purposes, than Dr. Archer. Bold, resolute, energetic, he had reached a period of life when reason, in all well-constituted minds, has asserted her empire over the fiercer passions of our nature. Of irreproachable life and unblemished honour, he possessed a weight and elevation of character which would be sure to lend both dignity and attractiveness to any worthy cause which he might espouse; and it was but a reasonable supposition, that when so important a personage should be once fairly enlisted in behalf of Texas, he could not fail, at the needful time, to draw to her aid numerous and valuable auxiliaries from the United States. He had been for a long while a prominent participator in the legislative councils of his native State, had rendered good military service during the last war with Great Britain, and was upon intimate terms with all of the most accomplished and influential men then to be found in the "Ancient Dominion;" in proof of which it is only necessary to mention, that when he left Virginia, the Judges of the Court of Appeals of that State, united in a voluntary and most complimentary certificate declarative of his eminent worth; and with such men as Benjamin Watkins Leigh,* and others of the lofty class to which he belongs, he has maintained a cordial and unbroken intimacy, and an epistolary correspondence up to the present moment. The commanding person of Dr. Archer, his charming amenity of manners, his brilliant colloquial eloquence, in which, in moments of particular excitement, all the life and pictorial energy of the drama are mingled with the dignified simplicity of a heart free from guile and conscious alone of lofty and disinterested impulses,—and, above all, his rare ability as a *popular agitator*, marked him out as a man eminently capable of grappling successfully with the rough crisis in Texan affairs which was visibly approaching, and as a worthy compeer of others then in Texas, of generous souls and of cultured intellect, in laying the solid foundations of that fabric of Liberty in the wilderness, whose embryon form already floated in the hearts and understandings of thousands.

It was in the year 1831 that Dr. Archer arrived in Texas. He landed at the port of Matagorda, and proceeded immediately to Colonel Austin, at San Felipe, on foot, not being able, to use his own language, "to buy, beg, or borrow a horse at Matagorda." From that period to the moment of Colonel Austin's death, they were intimate and confidential friends, though it was judged politic, from time to time, that slight signs of alienation should be exhibited to the view of others. As early as December the 15th, 1831, a private circular was despatched by Dr. Archer to the United States, with the sanction of Colonel Austin, from which the following characteristic sentences are extracted: "Portentous events are of hourly occurrence in the land of my adoption. The arm of Despotism is extended over this favoured region with most blighting influence. *A crisis has arrived.* The torch of resistance to insult, injury, and oppression (vulgarly called *rebellion*) is already lighted. The fagots for kindling the flame of civic combustion are at hand. The war-dogs are unkennelled; the scent of *blood* grows strong upon the breeze, and the cry of Liberty, *to the rescue!* yet lingers for an instant upon the tongues of the heroic. The Goddess of Liberty has been barbarously violated in these realms, and we feel that we have a right to call upon our brethren of the North to aid us in rescuing her from farther pollution."

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* When Dr. Archer was leaving Virginia, with a view to participating in expected revolutionary movements in Texas, he consulted Mr. Leigh, as a friend, who was rather inclined to dissuade him from the project, as being likely to expose him to unnecessary peril; but finding him resolutely bent upon going, with that amiable and considerate kindness which belongs so conspicuously to his character, he tendered the Doctor a letter, to be used in case of necessity, in which far higher commendations are bestowed upon him, than I have ventured to award. This was the more remarkable, since the Dr. and Mr. Leigh had been, but recently, conflicting as political antagonists, having run as rival candidates for a seat in the Virginia Convention. This letter I have seen, and a perusal of it gave me a higher opinion of human nature.

About the 16th of December, 1831, a large meeting of the citizens was held in the Town of Brassoria, for the purpose of taking into consideration the conduct of the Mexican government, and more especially to ascertain public sentiment in the Colony relative to an order which had just been published by the military commandants at Velasco and Anahuac, *for shutting up all the Ports of Texas, except Galveston.* Dr. Archer made his first appearance as a popular declaimer at this meeting, and delivered a speech of so inflammatory a character, that some of the more timid among his auditors were inclined to reprehend it as rash and ill-advised. He declared himself in favour of immediate resistance to the government; and his views were warmly seconded by two individuals of approved valour, John Austin, the hero who afterwards, on the 25th of June, so nobly led on the victorious attack upon the fort at Velasco, and George B. McKinstry—two names which will not cease to be mentioned with respect so long as lion-hearted valour, and fearless vindication of principle, shall continue to be esteemed on earth. The meeting finally resolved to despatch Archer and McKinstry to Anahuac, and commissioned them to call upon the Mexican Commandant at that place, in the name of the Colonists then assembled, and to demand of him, in peremptory terms, the instant *rescission* of the offensive commercial order before referred to, upon pain of being immediately attacked by the whole body of Colonists resident in the county of Brassoria. The commissioners thus appointed proceeded without delay to Anahuac, for the performance of the honourable task allotted to them. It should be here mentioned, that Anahuac was a military post, established on the South-Eastern shore of the Bay of Galveston, a few months before, for the express purpose of facilitating the collection of custom-house duties. A small town had been here laid off, and extraordinary exertions used to procure its settlement, under the direction of a certain *John Davis Bradburn;* a fort had been also built at Anahuac, and it was then occupied by one hundred and twenty Mexican soldiers under the command of Bradburn. This man was an American by birth, had accompanied General Mina in his ill-fated expedition to Soto La Marina in 1817, had survived that gallant officer, united himself with the Patriots during the Revolution in Mexico, and had now been sent on, with the commission of Colonel, to take the lead in persecution of his own countrymen in Texas. When the Brassorian Commissioners arrived at the fort of Anahuac, they lost no time in executing the errand upon which they had been sent: they demanded the revocation of the order for shutting up the Texan ports. Bradburn hesitated, and at first declined acting until he could communicate with his superior officer, General Teran, who was then distant several hundred miles. The Commissioners reiterated their demand, and menaced him with the vengeance of the Colonists, as they had been directed to do. Bradburn saw plainly that he had to deal with men who would not be trifled with, and in the end yielded a sort of grumbling, graceless consent to the requisitions made upon him so fiercely, and announced a rescission of the hated order. After which, Dr. Archer and his associate returned to Brassoria, reported the result of their mission, and admonished their rejoiced fellow-citizens to the exercise of continued firmness.

It should be here mentioned, that it was, during the stay of Dr. Archer at Anahuac, at this period, that he first saw the heroic *Travis*, whose subsequent deeds have made his name a talismanic word to freemen battling for their sacred rights in all countries under the sun. As two noble streams, commingling their waters in one mighty river, their congenial souls rushed at once into cordial association, and they entered into a solemn league with each other against the enemies of Texas, which both of them afterwards most faithfully executed. Travis agreed to station himself permanently in the vicinage of Anahuac, to exercise a vigilant observation in reference to the movements of Bradburn and his myrmidons, and to make a faithful report from time to time of the result of his patriotic labours of espionage.

It was hardly to be expected that this unprincipled *renegade*, whose bosom seems to have been surcharged with a peculiar venom against his own countrymen, would testify an unbroken complaisance under the severe check which he had now received at the hands of the colonists, or that he would be content to refrain in future from that course of aggression and outrage, for the prosecution of which he had been armed with ample authority. Indeed, in a few days after the visit of the Commissioners which has just been described, he proclaimed the whole country, lying within ten leagues of the coast, to be under *martial law*, and threatened the civil officers with exemplary punishment, if they should dare to assert a rival jurisdiction. The Colonists residing within the district of country thus sentenced, possessed no means of immediate resistance, and were forced to rest content with the presentation of spirited and energetic remonstrances against so rude an invasion of their municipal rights. Whilst affairs were in this plight, some worthless fellow, supposed to be in the Mexican interest, committed an act of disgusting immorality which aroused the indignation of the citizens; and, being cut off from all opportunity of bringing the offender to justice through the regular legal tribunals, which were now in a state of suspense, they resolved to have recourse, in this extremity, to that well-known arbiter vulgarly yclept *Captain Lynch*. They apprehended the culprit, and inflicted upon him such justice as a *coat of tar and feathers*, with a little equestrian recreation upon the rough edge of a common oaken rail, could afford. Bradburn, enraged at this attempt to enforce civil authority so *uncivilly*, and determined at once to repel an encroachment so serious upon his own prerogatives, immediately arrested several of the most respectable colonists in Anahuac, among whom was Travis himself, and threw them into close confinement. Whilst thus immured, the prisoners were treated with extraordinary cruelty, and even menaced with transportation to the celebrated dungeons of San Juan de Ulloa. The surrounding colonists became violently enraged at these proceedings, and a general indignation was manifested by the American settlers, for fifty miles around. At least one hundred and fifty of them concentrated themselves at a point beyond the Trinity river, and choosing Colonel Francis Johnson to act as their Commander, demanded of Bradburn a prompt release of the prisoners, or, if he preferred that course, a deliverance of them into custody of municipal officers, with a specification of the offence or offences with

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which they respectively stood charged, that they might be regularly dealt with according to the Constitution and laws of the land. This reasonable proposition found no favour in the eyes of this self-willed and arrogant Commandant, and he indeed contemptuously declined any farther negotiation with the colonists. Whereupon they immediately invested the fort which he occupied, and a brisk discharge of musketry was commenced on both sides, which, after being continued for several hours, had the happy effect of restoring Bradburn to sanity, and he proposed to deliver up the prisoners in dispute, on condition that the colonists would surrender in return some fifteen or twenty of his soldiers, whom they had captured in the action, and retire at least six miles from the town. These terms being agreed to, the victorious colonists withdrew to a place called Turtle Bayou, where they awaited the execution of the terms of compromise on the part of Bradburn. But this faithless miscreant, instead of acting as he had agreed to do, as soon as the main body of the colonists had withdrawn from before the fort, recovering from his alarm, opened a treacherous fire upon a few of the citizens whom he found in sight, and announced his determination to disregard altogether his obligations in the premises. Upon ascertaining this odious breach of faith, the colonists consulted dispassionately as to the measures most prudent to be adopted, and, coming to the conclusion that the fort would not be easily taken, without the aid of artillery, determined to send for three pieces, then in Brassoria, and to retire in the meanwhile to a place called Liberty. In a few days, they collected to the number of nearly three hundred, and were about proceeding to storm the fort of Anahuac, when they received intelligence that Colonel Piedras, the Mexican Commandant at Nacogdoches, was on his way to the colony, attended by a considerable body of troops. Uncertain whether his intentions were hostile or otherwise, they determined to approach him, through a committee appointed for the purpose, in a respectful and friendly manner, to recount the grievances of which they were then complaining, and to urge that Bradburn should be compelled to give up the colonists whom he held in confinement, and be dismissed from a station in which he had committed so many disgraceful acts. Piedras, either perceiving the justice of their demands, or influenced, as is more probable, by a conviction that the strength of the colonists was too great to be resisted, agreed readily to the measures proposed; and the imprisoned colonists were speedily restored to the arms of their friends; and Bradburn, who had caused all this trouble, was displaced and shipped off to New Orleans, whence he soon after returned to the City of Mexico. Nor did this wretch venture to present his accursed visage in Texas again, until the bloody Campaign of 1836, when he came like an evil spirit, hovering, with gloomy and malignant aspect, in the rear of Santa Anna's army, but taking good care that his corporeal frame should not be found at any time within musket-shot of his ancient Texan acquaintances.

It was evident that the energy displayed by the colonists throughout this affair of Anahuac, was likely to draw down upon them the most sanguinary vengeance at the hands of Bustamento; nor could they possibly have escaped the necessity of meeting the tyrant in arms, had he continued in power a few months longer. For Bradburn had proceeded in all respects according to the commands which he had received from his Mexican master, and he was understood to be quite a favourite with Bustamento,—who would certainly not have been slow in punishing the indignities offered to his faithful subordinate. The Texans had gone too far to recede with honour; they had assumed an attitude palpably and unpardonably hostile to the Mexican government for the time being, and they would have been compelled to fight out the contest or submit to unconditional slavery. Truly may Texas at this moment be said to have been "balancing upon the very pivot of her destiny;" and Dr. Archer, and several others, were of opinion that a declaration of Independence would be altogether advisable; nor had they hesitated to declare themselves to that effect at large popular assemblages. As early as the 11th of May, 1832, a meeting of the citizens had been convoked by John Austin, at the instance of Dr. Archer, in the Town of Brassoria; at which the latter had formally proposed an immediate attack upon the fort at Velasco, where one hundred and fifty Mexican troops were stationed, under the command of Colonel Ugartachea; and this proposition had been so favourably received, that it was only lost by *a single vote*. Many a valorous Texan had caught the excitement, imagined by the great dramatic poet to have been breathed by the generous Percy when he is made to exclaim:

> "Send danger from the east unto the west,
> So honour cross it from the north to south,
> And let them grapple: O! the blood more stirs,
> To rouse a lion, than to start a hare."

It is certain that the assault upon the fort at Velasco would have been made in the month of May, but for a reason that does not at all smack of the spirit of *submission*: it was known that the Presidential election in Mexico would shortly come on, and it was thought that a more favourable opportunity for the execution of hostile movements, without the danger of interruption, would be afforded by the dissensions sure to occur in connection with that transaction.

And now, whilst the Texans were in a state of painful perplexity as to the plan of operations most suitable for their adoption; uncertain as to the future, and preparing, if necessary, to encounter all the evils which wait upon civil war in its most destructive and sanguinary forms, one of those accidents which not unfrequently determine the fate of Empires, as well as individuals, occurred in Mexico; which enabled them to avoid for a year or two, the perils of Revolution. Bustamente was prostrated by Santa Anna, as heretofore described; and so soon as this intelligence reached the Texans, they discovered at once that their true policy was, without loss of time, to declare *for the Victor*, and to charge, as they might both plausibly and justifiably do, all the hostile movements in which they had been previously concerned, to the account of their known devotion to *the Constitution of* 1824; which was understood, at the time, to have triumphed in the person of Santa Anna. Such was the precise course which they in fact pursued; nor were they ever called in question by the new authorities in Mexico relative to their conduct in the Anahuac affair.

After which, standing upon much more solid ground than before, and desiring still further to conciliate the ruling power in Mexico, provided this could be effected in a way altogether honourable to themselves, and not prejudicial to their local interests, the colonists resolved to consummate the good work which they had commenced under auspices far less favourable; in the execution of which they had paused for an instant; and, at a consultation held in the Town of Brassoria, early in the month of June, at which a large number of the neighbouring planters and other substantial citizens were in attendance, it was unanimously determined to demand the immediate evacuation of the fort at Velasco, then in the occupancy of a Mexican force under Colonel Ugartachea. It must be confessed that an additional motive for energetic action against this Commandant had been supplied by supposed faithless conduct on his part in the recent affair of Anahuac; for, after pledging himself in that instance, in a manner altogether solemn, not to sustain Bradburn in his conflict with the colonists, he had notwithstanding sent him a reinforcement both of arms and men.

Some negotiations, through commissioners despatched to Velasco, now ensued between the colonists and Col. Ugartachea, which eventuating in no definite arrangement, about one hundred and fifteen of the most respectable citizens of Brassoria county (among whom were several individuals remarkable for every accomplishment which could adorn the character of a private gentleman, and who have since become honourably known wherever lofty virtue and intellectual cultivation are held in just estimation) marched, on the morning of the 25th of June, under the command of Captain John Austin, to a point proximate to the fort in Velasco, and sent a formal application for its surrender to Col. Ugartachea, accompanied with assurances that, in the event of the post being given up, the garrison should be permitted to retire without molestation and without being even deprived of their arms; on condition nevertheless, that the commanding officer would pledge himself that they should be immediately sent beyond the limits of Texas. This application, as had been anticipated, was wholly fruitless, and in fact only provoked from the tenants of the fort the language of vaunting defiance and indecent menace. The heroic Austin, and his valorous associates in arms, therefore, prepared to execute the plan of attack which had been previously matured. A schooner which had been attempting to get to sea, but which had run aground upon a sand-bar in the Brassos river, a few miles above its mouth, was, with the consent of her Captain, taken possession of by the assailing party. This vessel was found to be supplied with one light piece of ordnance and a large number of bullets. A copious stock of ammunition was carried on board, together with missiles of various kinds, to be used as occasion should demand. Forty of the colonists, under the command of Captain William I. Russel, resolutely took their station upon this vessel, dislodged her from the sand-bar which had before held her motionless, floated her down the river to a point directly opposite the fort, and within a few feet of the shore, and, a little after sunset, commenced a brisk cannonade upon the enemy, which they kept up during the greater part of the night, with slight intermission. In the meanwhile, Captain Austin had divided the portion of his force designed to operate on land into three detachments, with orders to march from as many different points simultaneously, to a piece of level ground in front of the fort, and when they should get within twenty-five steps of the fortifications, to pour upon the garrison a heavy shower of musketry. Every movement was executed according to the directions given, and for some time the battle raged with great fury. The artillery from the fort galled the Texan soldiers on the land severely, and proved fatal to more than one of their number; for they were wholly unprotected, save by slender palisades which they had erected in the very moment of action; but every musket discharged by them carried full retaliative vengeance into the ranks of the enemy. The cannon of the besieged was so unskilfully managed, that not a single ball had yet touched the schooner; whilst from her sides the most destructive fire was constantly kept up. Once, in a fit of desperation, the besieged rushed from the walls of the fort and attempted to pass rapidly to the place where the schooner was anchored, evidently with the intention of boarding her; but forty or fifty rifles from the Texans on land, all well directed, drove them quickly back to their place of shelter. About 2 o'clock in the morning, a heavy shower of rain compelled the Texan land-soldiers to retire to their encampment; whilst those on board the schooner still continued to assail the enemy. The first object descried at day-light was a *white flag* hung out by the garrison in token of submission. Ugartachea had exhausted nearly all his ammunition, and his soldiers, who had already fought wondrously *for Mexicans*, had become heartily tired of the contest, and demanded its termination. The Texans marched in triumph into the fort, subjected it to instant demolition, and, after disarming the Mexican soldiers, set them all at liberty. In this action the Texans had* seven of their number killed, and twenty-seven others were wounded. The loss of the Mexicans was yet greater, thirty-five of the garrison having been slain, and fifteen wounded. This was altogether the best contested battle which has been ever fought between the Anglo-Americans and the unvalorous race of Mexico, and it must be acknowledged that both Ugartaches and his soldiers displayed a persevering courage on the occasion worthy of a better cause.

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* Among these was an individual who had become very celebrated some years before, as an *Indian-fighter* in the early settlement of the colony, by the name of *Buckner*,—a Kentuckian by birth, nearly re-

The effect of this brilliant triumph of colonial chivalry in other parts of Texas may be easily imagined. The American population simultaneously sprung up, as if roused by the voice of a trumpet from on high, and vowed to put down the vulgar tyrant who had so presumptuously attempted to lord it over them. Colonel Piedras, who has been already mentioned as the Mexican Commandant at Nacogdoches, with whom the citizens in Austin's Colony recently assembled in warlike array at Turtle Bayou, had negotiated for the removal of Bradburn—had scarcely returned from his southern tour, ere intelligence reached him that the heroic Travis, at the head of twenty dauntless Americans, had expelled the Mexican garrison from Anahuac; and in a day or two more, he received a polite and strictly formal invitation from the citizens about Nacogdoches, to give in his adhesion to the *plan of Vera Cruz* and the Constitution of 1824. On consulting his soldiers, he found them all still resolved to stand by *Bustamente* and *Centralism;* and believing that he could rely upon their personal devotion to himself, if not upon their valour, he responded to the invitation of the citizens accordingly. Upon which, a large number of the Anglo-Americans in that vicinage, in all about two hundred, among whom were to be found several of the noble Fredonians who

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lated to several gentlemen of the same name now residing in the State of Mississippi—*Aylett H. Buckner*, Esq., and the Honourable Robert H. Buckner, present Chancellor of Mississippi. The extraordinary chivalry displayed by Buckner in conflicts with the Karonkaways, and other Indian tribes, will be remembered with esteem and gratitude by the Texans both of the present and future generations.

had fought with Edwards in 1829, and two or three veteran warriors who had battled with Long, in 1819, drew up in battle array before the town, with a view to settling the controversy by a regular encounter at arms. They endeavoured to draw Piedras out of the large stone-house which he occupied, (the same which had been once occupied by the Fredonians,) but with no effect. Most of those who had assembled, considering it as impracticable, without artillery, to dislodge the enemy from their present strong position, and viewing it as nothing less than downright madness to attack them from the open streets of the town, where they would be exposed, without shelter or defence, to the destructive fire of cannon—retired to their homes, leaving only about fifty of the most daring and resolute among them to encounter the perils of a conflict apparently so unequal. These immediately commenced hostilities, each fighting according to his own judgment, without an officer to issue the word of command or to regulate their movements, shooting from house-tops, from piazzas, from alleys, and even from the most exposed positions in the public streets, as chanced to be either convenient or agreeable. This singular contest continued throughout the day, and at night the assailants found that three of their number had been killed, and seven wounded; whilst they learned that the enemy had been able to maintain their position only at the expense of twenty killed, and an equal number of wounded. Encouraged by this extraordinary success, and burning for a renewal of the conflict as soon as daylight should enable them to get sight of the enemy, this small band of heroes betook themselves to repose. What was their surprise as well as chagrin next morning, at finding that the enemy had decamped during the night, and were in full flight in a westerly direction! Sixteen mounted men dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and taking a different route from the one travelled by them, they managed to throw themselves in advance of the enemy at the distance of about twenty miles from Nacogdoches;

and stationing themselves in a cane-brake which was intersected by the road that the enemy were pursuing, near the bank of the Angelina river, waited patiently for Piedras and his hundred and fifty Mexicans to come up. When they arrived, and attempted to cross the river, a sudden fire from the cane-brake threw these unfortunate wretches into such a panic that they immediately bellowed out for mercy most lustily, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war without firing a gun.

The good fortune which had thus far attended upon the Texans in their strife with the regular soldiery of Mexico, had been of a nature to inspire them with a profound contempt for the whole Mexican race as antagonists in war; and this sentiment has been fully justified by all subsequent experience. It was now proposed, in various parts of the country, to get up an expedition against the Mexican garrisons at Goliad and Bexar; and vigorous preparations were in progress for this purpose, when the agreeable intelligence was received that the soldiers of the government stationed at these places, had openly abandoned Bustamente and Centralism, and declared for Santa Anna and the Constitution of 1824.

Temporary tranquillity having been restored in Mexico by the election of Santa Anna and the supposed permanent prostration of Centralism, and a vague rumour having reached the government that serious disturbances had occurred in Texas, General Mexia, with a considerable body of troops, was sent thither to restore order. When he arrived, and found the Constitution of 1824 triumphant, and the whole people rejoicing over the downfall of Bustamente, and the elevation of Santa Anna, then confided in as a friend to Liberty, he professed himself most agreeably surprised, and awarded his cordial approbation to all that had been done.

For a short period now, Texas enjoyed peace, prosperity, and happiness. Emigration began to flow in again from the

United States, and to strengthen the claims of the province to admission into the Mexican Confederacy, as a co-equal member thereof. The political sky, which o'er-canopied the Colonists, seemed to many to be bright and cloudless; though it must be confessed, that all the more discerning part of the Texan population began to look upon the future as uncertain at least, if not menacing. The palpable unfitness of the great mass of the Mexican people for a state of complete freedom; the rapid progress of moral degeneration among them; their vulgar and low-minded admiration of profligate and illiterate military chieftains; the disposition already evinced by most of the leading men in Mexico, to break down state authority, and limit individual freedom—all these were symptoms of a boding tempest, which could not but awaken much solicitude in the minds of all considerate men in Texas, and excite serious anxiety, as to the result of things, among the judicious friends of Liberty elsewhere. That these fears were not unfounded, has been in part made evident, by the statement of political events in Mexico which has been given; the disclosures presently to be made, will furnish "confirmation strong as holy writ." These disclosures are reserved for a future chapter.

CHAPTER II.

View of the Federative System as established in Mexico; together with an inquiry as to its being adapted to the character and genius of the Mexican people. Unfortunate operation of that system in Mexico: War of *Consolidation* upon *State Rights*. Application of Texas for admission into the Mexican Confederacy as a Sovereign State; refused. Consequences of this refusal in Texas. Imprisonment of Colonel Austin. His return: his speech at Brassoria, and advice that a *Consultation* should be called.

We have now reached the confines of that struggle of arms, in illustration of the true nature of which, these hasty and imperfect volumes have been drawn up. That struggle was declared in the outset to be essentially a *moral* struggle, and it is confidently presumed, that the evidences already submitted to the patient and discriminating reader, will be held amply sufficient to make good that declaration. But it was, in addition, emphatically, a struggle for *constitutional rights—a war for principles*—principles, not only valuable in themselves, but rendered doubly valuable by their acknowledgment and explicit *authorization*, in the most solemn, imposing, and enduring form known even in this enlightened and *conservative* age—by being embodied, patented, and enstamped with perpetual validity, in a regularly devised, deliberately sanctioned, *organic* instrument, claiming for itself respect and obedience, as the *written constitution* of a free people, who, through that very instrument, gravely and loftily, challenged the regard, and confidence, and affectionate sympathy, of the friends of Liberty everywhere, as the asserters, upholders, and faithful defenders of *Republican institutions*.

Nothing is either more certain or more manifest than the fact, that the greater part, if not all the intestine disorders which have marked the history of Mexico during the last sixteen years, and especially those which have now finally resulted in the partition of her territory, may be fairly attributed to the abuses of various kinds that have been committed upon the provisions of the ill-understood, little-respected, and at last cruelly-murdered Constitution of 1824. That it was complicated and incongruous to some extent, will be admitted; that it contained several features repugnant to all sound notions of republican freedom, cannot be denied; that it was not sufficiently armed with substantial safeguards against usurpation, has been demonstrated by woful experience: but then, it is equally incontestable that it provided amply for its own emendation, in a mode at the same time simple, convenient, and caution-ary;* and, in the hands of a people adequate to the comprehension of its leading principles, and sincerely zealous for Liberty, it might have been, and most undeniably would have been, expeditiously moulded into such a form as to have been thoroughly provisory of all the great objects for the attainment and preservation of which *written constitutions* have been esteemed useful.

The *Federative System*, as at this moment in vigorous and beneficial operation in the United States of North America, is acknowledged by all statesmen, worthy of the name, on either side of the Atlantic, to present the most successful experiment of free government which has been made in any age of the world. Its capacity for dispensing with facility all the blessings which spring from sound and equal legislation, over an extensive territorial surface, has been repeatedly admitted, even by professed advocates of monarchy: and so conclusive is the evidence on this point, supplied by the experience of more than half a century, that it is now doubted, and with reason, whether there be authority for the designation of any geographical limits within which this system must of necessity be restricted, in order to realize the utmost utility of which it is susceptible. The happy apportionment of governmental power for which it provides, between Federal and State depositories, seems to secure all the vigour requisite, either for the suppression of domestic commotion, or for energetic defence against foreign hostility: the dignity of a great and glorious nation has been so far fully maintained abroad, and the supremacy of the *Central* department, whilst acting in its appropriate sphere of authority, has been at all times sufficiently apparent; whilst, through the wholesome and efficient instrumentality of local legislation on the part of the States respectively, a well-regulated police, a sound and elevated state of social morals, and in fine everything necessary to municipal prosperity and intellectual advancement, have been steadily preserved and promoted as a heritage of constantly increasing value. But this plan of government, worthy of admiration as it is by reason of the extraordinary wisdom displayed in its conformation, and delightful as it must be to the philanthropist to behold its majestic yet benign action, must be, notwithstanding, acknowledged to be decidedly more complicated in its arrangements than any other now existing. Nor can it be viewed as at all suited for the government of any people who, at the period of its adoption by them, shall not have made considerable progress in the art of political self-government, and who shall not have been already habituated to the sober and scrutinizing examination of public measures. The framers of the Constitution of the United States were men profoundly conversant with the history of all governments ancient and modern. They possessed likewise a knowledge, both accurate and minute, of all the peculiar characteristics of their own countrymen, and knew exactly how far to trust to their capabilities as a people. They adapted the government which they founded, with singular nicety and precision, to the population over which its authority was to be exerted, and by whose virtue and *good sense*, it was at last to be made effectual.

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* Article 165, of the Constitution of 1824 provides, that the General Congress alone shall have the power of determining any question with regard to the interpretation of any part of the Constitutional Act; Article 166, that the legislatures of the States may make what representations they think proper against any particular article of the Constitution; but that these representations shall not be taken into consideration by the General Congress before the year 1830; Article 167, that the Congress of that year shall confine itself to reporting upon those representations which it thinks unfit to be submitted to the consideration of the ensuing Congress, and this report shall be communicated to the President, who shall publish and circulate it without observation. By article 168, it is provided, that the next ensuing Congress, in the first year of its ordinary session, shall discuss the report so submitted to its deliberation, and make such reform as it deems expedient; but that no change shall be made by the same Congress which declares its expediency.

This is the grand secret of that wonderful success which crowned the labours of those Patriarchs who composed the Federal Convention of 1789. And a declaration may be here indulged in reference to the general population of the United States at that period, which can hardly be hazarded in relation to any other people for whose benefit a new frame of government has been set on foot: *the people themselves aided materially in the fabrication of the Constitution.* They were formally consulted in regard to all its fundamental articles; and the whole Constitution was laid before them in the newspapers of the period. Its chief provisions were discussed by able writers for their edification; and its supposed merits or demerits were freely canvassed by public speakers, seldom if ever surpassed in point either of wisdom or true eloquence. The views of the people themselves were diligently elicited, and their lightest objections listened to with affectionate respect. Nor did it become the supreme law of the land, until nine different Conventions had ratified it; in each of which the full majesty of a Sovereign State was made manifest, in the persons of men long celebrated for their learning, their astuteness, and their unwavering patriotism. When the Federal Constitution commenced its career of authority, it had been already written upon the hearts and understandings of three millions of freemen. It was not like the laws of ancient Crete, introduced by Lycurgus into Sparta; nor yet like the system of jurisprudence prepared by the wisdom of Solon for the government of Athens; nor yet, again, like the same Attic law transplanted by the Decemvirs to Rome, and inscribed upon the twelve tables of immortal renown—all of which were made known to those subjected to their dominion, for the first time, by the very means employed for their enforcement. In this respect, it is evident that the new system of government in the United States enjoyed peculiar advantages. Another fact, not less favourable, was this: A large majority of the people of the United States, through each succeeding generation, have possessed an acquaintance with the leading provisions both of the Federal and State Constitutions. Scarcely, indeed, would it be possible, in all the more enlightened sections of the Union, to enter a house without finding its inmates supplied with a little book containing all these sacred guarantees of Liberty; and often would the stranger from less favoured regions be surprised by judicious views of Constitutional law from the lips of humble cottagers, whose bosoms have never felt the fierce throbbings of political ambition, and whose aspirations are directed alone to their country's happiness. An ordinary citizen of the United States would be ashamed to avow his entire ignorance of material alterations which had taken place either in the Federal or State Constitutions; and more especially would he feel chagrined at being discovered not to have kept pace with the changes effected in the Constitution of his own State. A very large proportion of the people of the United States are regular readers of newspapers, from the columns of which they derive information as to every new measure of government proposed in the National Councils, long before it can assume the character of a law. They are secured in the same way, an opportunity of examining at leisure, and under circumstances of seclusion and repose favourable to arriving at correct conclusions, all the arguments offered in Congress, either in opposition to, or in support of, particular measures; and they are, in addition, frequently convened at public meetings, where they listen to cogent addresses from members of their own body—from men who, like themselves, belong to the *constituent* class, and who are, therefore, not under the delusive influence which is so apt to arise from *official incumbency*. These men being known to them personally, they are at no loss to determine how far their opinions are entitled to respect as mere authority, or may require the adduction of stronger arguments than they seem able to bring forward. Thus enlightened, they are prepared through the medium of *memorials*, *resolutions*, and *instructions* to their own representatives, almost to participate in the process of *legislation* itself. If the National Government should be guilty at any time of entering upon the exercise of powers not confided to it by the Constitution, the people of the respective States, sooner or later, in one form or another, would be sure to find it out, and, through the action of their local Governments, if by no other means, would be able to apply a seasonable corrective. Their political welfare they believe to depend in a great degree upon the preservation of their *written Constitution* inviolate, and in a peculiar manner, upon confining the *central power* of their Federative system within the orbit plainly prescribed to it. They cherish *State authority*[*] with a pious zeal, as the *oldest*, most paternal, least aspiring, and therefore least dangerous part of their governmental organization; to the State governments, among which combinations perilous to Liberty are rendered almost impossible by their number and the complexity of local interests, they look for the exercise of a bold and constant vigilance over the movements of the Federal head, and expect from them such prompt and efficient action as may serve at once to check all inroads upon the *reserved rights of the States and People;* and in the event of any serious infraction thereof being actually perpetrated, they confidently expect from the same source, the suggestion of adequate remedies. It would then appear, that the people of the United States are emphatically a *Constitution-loving*, a *Constitution-respecting*, a *Constitution-understanding* people, and that their *Federative* plan of Government, complex as it is, is altogether suited to them, and that they are fully equal to its maintenance. But who would venture to assert as much in relation to the miscellaneous and unlettered rabble who constitute the people of the Mexican Republic? Who is superficial enough to suppose *them* qualified successfully to watch the varied operations of a political machine, of whose mystical and nicely adjusted enginery they are able to form no distinct conception at all, and whose every movement would prove as perplexing to their untutored minds, as to the apprehension of a child would be

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[*] The author trusts that these remarks will not be imputed to *party* feeling; he is certain that such an imputation would be wholly undeserved. In this day and generation, there is happily no longer any dispute in the United States, among prominent politicians, upon the general doctrine contained in the text; Mr. Hamilton's proposition in the Federal Convention to strike the state powers out of existence, with a view to the arrangement of a monarchical system, would have no advocates now; and all parties *profess* equal zeal in behalf of State Rights. Which of them is most sincere is left for others to decide. The terrors of *consolidation* are held up now both by Whig and Democratic orators, and even Mr. Webster, viewed by some of his countrymen for many years, as the chief of that political sect accused, whether justly or not, of a secret inclination to consolidation and consequent hostility to *State Rights*, has not hesitated on a late occasion to use the following language: "I may differ from you in some things, (speaking to citizens of Virginia, assembled at Richmond, in last October,) but I will here say, that as to the doctrines of State Rights, as held by Mr. Madison, in his last days, I do not know that we differ at all: yet I am one, and among the foremost to hold that it is indispensable to the prosperity of these governments to preserve, and that he is no friend to either who does not labour to preserve, a true distinction between both. We may not see the line which divides them alike; but all honest men know that there is a line, and they all fear to go either on the one or the other side of it. It is this balance between the general and state governments which has preserved the country in unexampled prosperity for fifty years—and the destruction of this just balance will [illegible] the destruction of our government. What I believe to be the doc-

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trine of State Rights, I hold as firmly as any man. Do I not belong to a State? and may I not say a State that has done something to give herself renown, and to her sons some little share of participated distinction? I say again, that the upholding of State Rights on the one hand, and of the just powers of Congress on the other, is equally indispensable to the preservation of our free Republican Government." It is certainly a striking fact, that whilst all parties in this country are avowedly struggling, in the War of Words, against the monster of *Consolidation* or *Centralism*, each accusing the other of not being sufficiently hostile to his sway; in Mexico, the declared friends and opponents of the same *Consolidation* or *Centralism* (for they are identically the same) are engaged in the unhappy business of cutting one another's throats by thousands.

the conflicting yet harmonious sway supposed by astronomers to be exercised by the centripetal and centrifugal forces in the economy of the planetary system? As well might it be expected that the eyes of the unhappy wretch, whose vision had been all his life obstructed by cataracts, would be able without the application of surgical skill, to guide his feet in safety whilst he boldly essayed

to o'er-walk a current roaring loud,
Upon the unsteadfast footing of a spear;

as well expect the fabled Dædalus to soar upon his waxen pinions under the burning rays of Phœbus with all the unintermitting majesty of the bird of Jove himself; as that the degenerate and enervated race of Mexico, raised by accident more than their own virtue to the possession of freedom, would suddenly become the judicious administrators of a moral treasure whose management has baffled the most enlightened nations of all ages, and, save perhaps in a solitary instance, has o'er-mastered the skill of Philosophy itself.

The "*divine*" Plato has left the opinion on record, that the most eligible mode of introducing new laws into a country is that of their enactment by the authority of a single individual. In this *dictum*, Plato, whose lofty dogmatism would scarcely have admitted the possibility of his being in error, seems not to have been at all singular among the ancients; since more than one instance of this *univocal* legislation, besides those noted ones of Lycurgus and Solon, have been handed down for our admiration. Jeremy Bentham, a man of more modesty than Plato, and who is not known to have laid claim to anything beyond the dignity of mere *human* wisdom, but who is nevertheless destined among future generations greatly to outrank the boasted Grecian Sage, has gone far to sustain his perhaps otherwise tottering authority. Now it is at least possible, that both the imaginative disciple of Socrates, and the grave preceptor of Brougham and of Romilly, may have spoken somewhat in reference to their own eminent qualification for jurisprudental undertakings; a suspicion of which, by the bye, would, in the judgment of intelligent and liberal-minded men, very little, if at all, impair the value of their counsels. Moses and Mahomet, the first of whom doubtless acted under the special guidance of Jehovah, whilst the latter set up pretensions to inspiration sufficiently plausible to satisfy the accommodating credulity of the orientalists, were each fortunate enough to enjoy a monopoly in the glory of *codification:* and, though the Draconic lucubrations of the one, have been somewhat superseded, if not entirely annulled, by the teachings of a more charitable as well as more luminous dispensation; and the moral dominion of the other, is evidently in present danger of retrenchment by the uplifted sword of Christianity: yet must it be confessed, that there was a period when the Pentateuch, as well as the Koran, commanded an unmurmuring obedience from their respective votaries, of which even the potentates of feudality might have been fairly envious. The Decemviral tables of Rome are known to have been compiled by ten individuals, who, having sat side by side for years in the Senate of that august Republic, it was hoped would better harmonize than if their sovereign board of legislation were in part composed of fierce and intractable agitators among the plebeian herd, whose days and nights were consumed in zealous disputation about the rights of the different orders. The genius of Napoleon, in our own times, superintended the preparation of a Code, which he had sufficient authority to carry into effect, without his being at all interrupted or even influenced in the execution of his grand design, either by the clamorous censures or noisy commendations of those for whose benefit it was intended; but it would seem, that this Tamer of Nations did not scorn the aid of contemporaneous wisdom, and was decently regardful of the admonitory lessons of antiquity. However all this may be, it is certain that a people undertaking to ordain laws for their own government, must pay some regard to their own particular habitudes and capabilities; and whether voluntarily coming under the sway of legal regulations prepared at their instance by one or more law-givers, or servilely copying the civil institutions of other nations, the system which they ultimately agree to invest with permanent authority over them and their posterity, should be at least such as shall comport with their own genius as a race, and such in all fundamental respects as they are prepared both to fathom and appreciate; else must the whole fabric of polity which they cause to be raised, however imposing it may be to the eye of the superficial observer, and by whatever high-sounding name it may be distinguished, prove to them and their descendants a perpetual Babel of confusion, until it shall be at length hurled into a state of hopeless ruin by the blind and reckless fury of an unreasoning populace.

Thus has it been with woe-stricken Mexico:—The United States of North America held forth to the view of eight millions of demi-savages, just emancipated from the thraldom of centuries, a splendid and imposing picture of national happiness, under the shadow of *Federative* institutions; and they, stimulated by a foolish and deplorable vanity which forbade the least suspicion of their own unworthiness, at once set about copying the Constitution under which so much felicity had been realized, never doubting that this was the only step necessary to be taken in order to place in their possession all the advantages which a republican form of government is capable of affording. It is indeed not a little amusing, to observe how very closely the Federal model supplied by Anglo-American wisdom, was imitated in Mexico, save in one or two points presently to be noticed, in which the selfish cunning of the Priesthood displayed its gorgon crest most palpably to view. The similitude alluded to between the two instruments, is preserved even in regard to matters of comparatively trivial import. For instance,—the President of the Mexican Republic, as in the United States, is required to be at least *thirty-five years* of age; a

Federal Senator *thirty*, and a Congressional representative may be yet five years younger.

Two radical departures from its professed archetype are alone to be discovered in the Mexican Constitution. It contains no provision securing the invaluable *right of trial by Jury*, and establishes the Catholic religion as the *National religion* of the country. Without the first of these, liberty will soon languish among any people; where the last is found, true freedom cannot be said at all to abide. It is obvious though, that if all other circumstances had been favourable to the new system, these grounds of objection to it, would have been in due season removed.

The main difficulties to be encountered in carrying the Mexican Constitution of 1824 into successful operation, evidently lay in the organization of *State authority*, by way of counterpoise to the immense power entrusted to the central department. This difficulty would not perhaps have been inconsiderable, had the character of the population been ever so propitious; with *such* a population, State organization, according to the plan of the Constitution, was absolutely impossible. It will be borne in mind, that until the adoption of the Constitution, there was no such thing in all Mexico as a sovereign *State*, existing as such; the States had all to be called into being afterwards. The Constitution itself was not, as that of the United States, the work of States acting through separate representatives; but was the creation of the Mexican Congress, representing the people of Mexico as a consolidated mass; if indeed the assembly which called itself the Mexican Congress in 1824, may be truly said to have acted for any body but themselves. Here was a wholly different case from the one presented in the United States in 1789, where each of the thirteen free, sovereign, and independent States had been long in possession of a separate and distinct political existence; had a Legislature, a Judiciary, and Executive, all fully organized; stood strong in the affection and confidence of their respective populations, and were thus armed with ample means of defence against Federal *encroachment*, at the very moment that they first acknowledged the Constitutional existence of Federal *power*.

It is yet a problem to be solved by experience, whether it be a possible thing to establish a *Federative Republic* which shall be capable, as such, of permanent and prosperous existence, by the simple and compendious process of cutting up a given portion of territorial surface into artificial divisions, and erecting therein a number of distinct municipal corporations, to each one of whom a modified political sovereignty shall be given by the mere breath of a legislative declaration, sufficient to enable them to serve as the pillars which shall afterwards sustain a central sovereignty, charged with the exclusive direction of all concerns strictly national. It may be doubted with reason, whether States *so formed* would have sufficient strength to wield an efficient *counteractive* force in opposition to the power located in the head of the system, so as to preserve their own corporate rights inviolate, and shield their respective citizens from the oppression of the government of the centre. All experiments of this kind hitherto tried, have originated with the *central* departments, already in a state of energetic organization, which certainly looks very much like building a house, and afterwards arranging the foundations beneath it, or perhaps is still more like the absurd attempt to put the spring-wheel of a watch in motion, and then, without suspending its rotations for an instant, essay to bring into association with it all the complicated machinery whose movements are to be controlled and regulated by it. It is highly probable, that some such *nucleus of State sovereignty* as was afforded by the old thirteen States of the American Union, is indispensable to the complete success of the Federative plan of government; with the aid of such a *rallying point*, though, experience has proved that the extension of the system to almost an indefinite number of *new* States, formed, either by the detachment of surplus soil and population from one of the ancient sovereignties, or by the erection of freshly settled territorial districts into independent political corporations, equal in all respects to the Co-States with whom they are thrown into connection, is a work of comparatively easy execution.

Many highly judicious persons on this side of the Atlantic have thought, that, when the French people, towards the close of the last century, achieved their signal and truly glorious triumph over the odious system of tyranny under which they had so long groaned, could that enlightened and lofty-spirited nation have been favoured with a short season of perfect social repose, so as to have allowed to her wise men an opportunity for the sober and methodical fabrication of a well-balanced Federative system, much of the violence and bloodshed which marked the short career of Liberty in that charming country might have been happily avoided, and Republican institutions have found firm establishment. The Departments into which France was divided were regarded by some among the enlightened friends of freedom there, as holding out strong inducements for the trial of such an experiment; and the Girondists, in particular, it is well ascertained, as late as the year 1793, contemplated the erection of a Confederative fabric upon the Departmental basis. What would have been the issue of such a scheme, had its execution been attempted under circumstances altogether propitious, remains yet a question for disputation; for the magnificent march of free principles in France, rousing up all Europe against the Republic, whilst yet in its infancy, made it indispensable to the safety of the *Revolutionary cause*, that far more energy should be communicated to the *Central power* located in Paris, than would have at all comported with such a Constitution as that existing in the United States. The history of *Centralism* in Republican France, associated as it is with the horrors which encircle the names of *Marat*, of *Robespierre*, of *Danton*, and their thousands on thousands of butcherly accomplices—distained with the blood of more than a million of martyrs—and, after all, terminating in the establishment of an *imperial throne*, to be occupied by the most domineering and inflexible, though certainly the most splendid *Despot* that the world ever saw, has administered a volume of instruction to all the true friends of Republican institutions, which, it is to be hoped, will not cease to be read with attention, so long as the doctrine of popular self-government shall continue to have advocates on earth.

The American colonists in Texas would not have been true to the principles of their fathers, had they not placed a high estimate upon the *Conservative* influence of State authority, and been anxious to be allowed, as early as possible, to frame a separate State Constitution for themselves; under which, such a political organization could at once take place, as might save them from the many perils to which they felt that they must otherwise remain exposed. It has been seen that the *Consolidating* movements of Bustamente had excited much uneasiness in their minds; and that they began, and with good reason, to dread that *State* Rights, as well as individual liberty, would be overwhelmed in the impetuous course of that daring usurper, ere they would have an opportunity accorded to them of attesting, in a regular manner, their inextinguishable devotion to the one, and of establishing before the whole world, by appropriate deeds, their moral title to enjoy the other.

After the fall of Bustamente, the colonists were far from relinquishing their desires on this subject. They knew well that the example which he had set, was but too likely to be imitated by any ambitious chieftain who might succeed him in the Presidential office; and that as long as they continued in their present defenceless attitude, they would be always liable to such perils as their own valour had recently obviated. There were some additional reasons which greatly quickened their solicitude about this matter; among which may be specified the following: Coahuila and Texas, hitherto constituting a single State, were as dissimilar in their soil, climate, and productions, as were their respective inhabitants in point of intellectual culture, manners, customs, and religious faith. From which it followed, that legislative enactments, eminently agreeable and advantageous to the population of the one, might prove altogether offensive and baneful to that of the other. The disproportion existing between Coahuila and Texas, in regard to the number of Representatives sent by each of them to the State Legislature, made it almost impossible for the colonists to procure the passage of a single law beneficial to their local interests; whilst several had been enacted, at different times, in opposition to their wishes, which inflicted upon them the most serious detriment. The Indian tribes, too, within the limits of Texas, still occasionally committed aggressions upon the settlers; and so far, they had been compelled to rely for safety *alone* upon their own energy.

Under these circumstances, a Convention was called at the Town of San Felipe, in the year 1833, the object of which was, the preparation of a memorial to the general Congress, praying on behalf of Texas, immediate admission into the Mexican Confederacy, as a Sovereign State. This Convention contained many individuals of decided ability, several of whom have subsequently acquired a merited renown both in the cabinet and in the field. Two of these, I feel bound to name specially, as they stand intimately associated with almost every measure of much magnitude which grew out of the struggle for National Independence in Texas; they are *William H. Wharton*,* alas! now in the grave,

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* I feel inclined to offer a few hasty remarks here, by way of imperfect biographical notice of the two personages mentioned above, which I flatter myself the liberal reader will excuse, if he cannot give me his approbation.

Colonel William H. Wharton was by birth a Virginian. His father, if I have not been misinformed, removed to the State of Tennessee when the interesting subject of this sketch was yet in childhood. Wil-

and *David G. Burnet*, the present Vice President of the Texan Republic. Colonel Wharton officiated as President of the Convention at San Felipe, whilst Judge Burnet acted

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liam H., and his brother John, also a distinguished actor in the Texan revolution, were brought up in the City of Nashville; where hundreds yet live who retain a vivid reminiscence of the early collegiate proficiency which they both evinced, and the anticipations even then indulged as to their future renown. William H. Wharton was endowed with uncommon strength as well as quickness of intellect; with him, the process of perception was like the flash of intuition; and what he discerned with the mental eye at all, he beheld in the clear and full light of unclouded reason. His memory was of most ample range, and of a tenacity astonishing; insomuch that he would have been greatly surprised at finding that he had fairly forgotten anything which he had once seen, read of, or heard about. He was always a diligent student of books; and it may be without extravagance said of him, that he read nothing which he did not thoroughly digest or which he could not apply to all the useful or ornamental purposes of life, with a facility and skill not often accompanying the ownership of so large a stock of miscellaneous knowledge as he had contrived to amass. He was likewise an acute and laborious *scrutinizer of men*; and was particularly successful in penetrating beneath the artificial folds in which character is so often found enveloped, and in detecting the latent motives of acts calculated to delude the superficial observer. He had studied law, in a regular way, with a view to running the career of a barrister; and would doubtless have attained much distinction in this calling, had not his attention been attracted to more congenial pursuits. He possessed uncommon powers of oratory; as thousands can attest who witnessed his magnificent exhibitions in different parts of the United States a little more than four years since. His style was, in general, easy, flowing, and graceful; at times, when specially bestirred by passion, he had all the impetuosity and force of a rushing torrent; and when moved to fierce indignation, as he was once or twice known to be, against the *heartless traducers* of his beloved Texas, he was capable of pouring forth a volcanic tide of blazing and burning invective, which was absolutely consuming to those who had ventured to provoke his chastising ire. Nor was he at all deficient either in energy or chaste elegance as a writer: his celebrated numbers of Curtius, composed expressly for the purpose of explaining the true character of the Texan struggle for Independence, and which, upon their first appearance received publication in most of the leading gazettes of the United States, would have done no discredit to the most practised writers of the age; and the prodigious effect which they wrought at the time, in dispelling prejudice, and in winning new friends to the cause of Texas and the as Chairman of the Committee by whom the proposed memorial was drafted.

When this document had been drawn up and regularly

Texas, will secure the recognition of their author everywhere, as one of the most efficient benefactors of Liberty that the present age has afforded. Colonel Wharton was naturally of a serene and cheerful temper; at times he was even quite gay; and he occasionally displayed among his more intimate and confidential friends a turn of thought not a little tinctured with romance; at such moments, his gloomy yet enchanting coruscations might, among persons of less glowing sensibility, and of a more barren and sluggish fancy than his own, have easily brought upon him the suspicion either of eccentricity or affectation; but those who knew best the faculties of his understanding and the virtues of his heart, never doubted, for an instant, his practical soundness as an actor upon the dull arena of common life, or the unsophisticated simplicity and noble frankness which held constant empire over his soul. His whole life, indeed, had been a continued series of striking adventures, and it would have been strange had they not shed some influence over his character. He had flown to Texas, in the dawn of manhood, to recruit, if possible, in that balmy and delicious climate, a physical constitution which had been wasted by severe application to books; and having sought relief in vain from the solemn sons of Esculapius, he had thrown himself into companionship with the friendly Indians of the wilderness, hoping to be resuscitated by the active labours of the chase. For months, at this period of his life, he was occupied, day by day, in excited pursuit of the sturdy buffalo and the bounding deer, subsisting on plain hunter's fare, and stretching himself at night, under the starry cope of Heaven, whilst the gently falling dew, elsewhere so noxious to human life, seemed, in this charming region, but to impart renewed activity and ardour for the next day's exertions. Then, when returning health, whispering the remembered joys of civilised commune, had made his sojourn among the untutored children of Nature to grow irksome to him, and he had sallied forth to one of the neighbouring villages of the Province, upon a mere jaunt of curiosity; had not fortuitous circumstances thrown their mysterious web about his feet, and fixed him as a resident of Texas for life! This is even true: for had not Colonel Wharton been unexpectedly called on, during this very visit, to attend as an attorney, to an important law-suit, then pending in one of the provincial courts—had not the successful skill with which he managed the case so conciliated his venerable client, *Colonel Groce*, towards him, as to prompt the extension of an invitation to visit his elegant and hospitable mansion—where he saw youth, and beauty, and rare moral graces concentred in the daughter of his host; he would most probably never have beheld the interesting approved by the Convention, it was deemed expedient that Colonel Austin should convey it in person to the City of Mexico. He was yet on good terms with the Mexican go-

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lady who soon became his wife, and have returned to the United States to pursue the dull routine of professional labour; instead of acting conspicuously upon a theatre so much better suited to his genius. Moreover, it was his fortune, in a few months, to rescue that wife from drowning in the rough current of the Brazos, by his own heroism, that she might give delight and ornament to the romantic residence which he soon after established, and which is yet the wonder of all who survey it. Then quickly came an *affair of honour*, terminating much to his own credit, and without the destruction of life on either side. Then rushed to view the stormy and tumultuous scenes of the Texan Revolution; in which, after fighting, writing, speaking, negotiating, and what not? he found himself the tenant of a dungeon in Matamoras; whence he escaped at midnight by eluding his savage keeper, and returned to the bosom of his family; to see in a few weeks, his beloved, his almost idolized brother, who had just before ventured into the enemy's country to effect his own rescue, sink into an untimely grave—but a grave which was bedewed by a *nation's tears!*

To many, the most interesting points of view, in which the character of Colonel Wharton is susceptible of being contemplated, are such as reflect the less commanding, but more endearing graces of domestic life. His enthusiastic attachment to his wife and brother, so richly entitled as they were to all the affection which he cherished for them, will be long remembered among those who knew him even slightly; and the remark has been often made, by those who were upon terms of intimacy with him, that when absent from these dear objects of his regard, he seemed ever to be thinking of them, and delighted, in a circle where he could unbend himself completely, in dwelling upon those exalted virtues which he religiously believed them to possess. A little incident occurred in the City of Louisville, in the Spring of 1839, the mention of which will be perhaps tolerated in this place. Colonel Wharton was on his way from Washington City, where the recognition of Texas, as an independent nation, had just been secured, in a great degree by his exertions, and tarried for a day or two in Louisville, arranging some necessary business. Mrs. Wharton had left Washington before him, in company with the family of the Honourable William C. Preston, and had by that time reached South Carolina. Travelling in company, we were thrown into the same room at the Hotel, where I had the happiness to enjoy much of his instructive and delightful conversation. One night, he was occupied for an hour or two in writing, and seemed to be completely absorbed in his task. Suddenly, starting up, he exclaimed, "Do recite the song which I vernment, possessed an extensive personal acquaintance with men in authority, and was known to combine all the necessary energy, fidelity, and address, suited to such a

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heard you sing to-day." It was Tom Moore's enchanting song, "*Fly to the desert.*" I complied with his request. He stopped me midway the recitation, and desired a particular portion to be repeated, for insertion in the letter which he was addressing to his wife. I rehearsed it accordingly, and it found place in that epistle. The lines thus specially called for, were the following:

> Oh! there are looks and tones that dart
> An instant sun-shine through the heart;
> As if the soul, that minute, caught
> Some treasure, it through life had sought.
>
> So came thy every glance and tone,
> When first on me they breathed and shone;
> New, as if brought from other spheres,
> Yet welcome, as if loved for years.

Such an incident as the one just related, though in the judgment of some, it may appear trivial, must be regarded by all who know anything of human nature, to be much more eloquent of true nuptial devotion, than whole volumes of such hypocritical trash, as the victims of ill-fated marriage are wont to palm upon society, for the purpose of concealing real wretchedness under the semblance of happiness, not actually enjoyed.

At the period just mentioned, a curious transaction occurred, which seems to me to deserve record as strikingly illustrating the inquisitiveness manifested by Colonel Wharton, for all that was strange and mysterious in character. We had engaged our passage down the river from Louisville, on board the splendid Steamer Sultana, and I was actually on board awaiting the moment of departure in my state-room, and amusing myself meanwhile with some light literary work, when he visited me suddenly in great haste, and announced that perhaps the most extraordinary person living was then on board the boat, and that this person would accompany us in the contemplated voyage. He explained himself farther, thus: A friend in Louisville, had just turned his attention to the person in question, who was no other than the celebrated *Marquis of Moscati*, travelling *incognito;* he had pursued him on board, and had ascertained that he had presented nothing, in the shape of a name, to the clerk who kept the list of passengers, save nine alphabetical characters, all of which together could not be so arranged as to form an articulate sound. I had never heard of the Marquis of Moscati, and, therefore, stood in need of farther explanation, which was readily afforded by Colonel Wharton; for he bore in his hand a newspaper, (a number of the National Gazette, of Philadelphia, I believe) that contained a long article to which he desired mission. Colonel Austin of course undertook to present the memorial, and quickly set forth upon his journey to the Mexican Capital. A little more than ten years had passed

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my immediate attention. I took the paper, and read the article. I found that it purported to be a regular report of a trial which had occurred a month or two before, in the British Court of King's Bench, in a criminal proceeding, instituted in the name of "*the Marquis of Moscati*," against certain defendants, whose names are now forgotten, charged with having been guilty of publishing a libel upon his character. It seems, that various publications had been made in the London papers, concerning this person, each alleging that he was a gross impostor, and, though differing somewhat as to particulars, all agreeing that the individual who called himself the Marquis of Moscati, was one of the most exorbitant *liars* that had ever appeared. In the progress of the judicial investigation, many most singular developments were made, of which the following are perhaps the most material:

1. The aforesaid Marquis, as he styled himself, (but who turned out in the sequel to be no Marquis at all,) had represented himself, on various occasions, to be verily the said *Marquis of Moscati*, and of a most ancient and wealthy family of Italy, who had been unjustly kept out of a valuable inheritance by certain usurping relatives. The proof on this point very satisfactorily evinced that no such Marquisate as the one claimed had ever existed in all Italy.

2. It appeared farther that this individual had represented himself as having officiated as Aid-de-Camp to Napoleon Buonaparte in several of his celebrated campaigns, and in the unfortunate Russian expedition, particularly, that he had rendered essential service to the Emperor, by ascertaining the approach of a large army of Russians, when yet at the distance of twenty miles, by the rumbling of their wagon-wheels upon the ice. No negative evidence was of course needed on this head.

3. Another specification equally well-established against the poor Marquis, was, that he had been heard to aver that, at different times, he had fought upwards of ninety duels, and in each one had been able to shoot his antagonist in the left eye.

4. He had asserted also, that he had, some years before, received a bullet in his cerebellum, where it stuck fast, and had never to that day been removed; and that, in consideration of this remarkable circumstance, Sir Astley Cooper had offered him ten thousand pounds sterling money, for a post-mortem examination of his head.

5. He boasted of having a genuine Toledo blade, which he wore in general wrapped round his person, so as not to be visible; but which he could, nevertheless, detach in an instant, and use it for all the ordinary purposes to which a sword is devoted.

6. According to his account of himself, Don Miguel of Portugal had

by since he had first visited a city which had been the theatre of so many extraordinary transactions; but during those ten years, what ages of crime had not rolled away

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offered him the chief command of his army; but he had declined the proffered station, because a *Republican* in principle.

7. The Marquis had claimed the honour of being sole author of the *Pelham Novels*; and Mr. Bulwer was introduced to prove the authorship to be actually in himself. It appeared that Mr. Bulwer knew the Marquis very well, considered him a man of letters, and had occasionally employed him to write special articles for a periodical under his own control.

Upon this showing, the suit had, as might be expected, resulted in favour of the defendants; and the Marquis was described as complaining loudly of *persecution* on account of his political tenets, and as having left England, in disgust, for the United States.

Such were the leading contents of this very singular newspaper statement; after a perusal of which, Colonel Wharton reiterated that this stranger was then a passenger on the boat with us, and proposed that I should call on him at once, in company with himself; which I accordingly did. I shall not now undertake to present a description of the personal appearance of this mysterious stranger, though there was much in it, certainly, to attract curiosity, and perhaps to excite mirth. It is sufficient to say, that we formed his acquaintance; that he received us with singular affability; that we persuaded him, with some trouble, to confess his true name; and that he was in an hour or two introduced as the Marquis of Moscati, to at least a hundred persons; among whom I will mention, the two members of Congress from Mississippi, Colonel Claiborne, and Colonel (now judge) Gholson, Colonel Garland, the distinguished Congressional delegate from Louisiana, and various other personages equally well known. The *incognito* was entirely dispensed with by the Marquis, after this public acknowledgment of his pretensions to nobility; and taking courage, apparently, from finding himself surrounded by a company exclusively *Republicans*, for several days and nights, he expatiated largely on many subjects, exhibiting astonishing information, certainly, and reciting with remarkable fluency, tales of marvel, all connected with his own adventurous life, as incredible as if he had spoken of the

"Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders."

I should not here forget to mention, that the Marquis gave proof of his scholarship not having been overrated by the renowned British novelist, by promptly drawing up, in the presence of many persons, with an equally imposing display of beautiful calligraphy and choice Latinity, a letter amidst the debauched and profligate populace who now desecrated the once moral and happy capital of Montezuma! how many rival chieftains had in that short period succeeded

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of introduction, addressed to the Secretary of His Holiness the Pope of Rome, recommending to the cordial civilities of that personage one of our company, whom he described as the Honourable J. F. H. Claiborne, a distinguished member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, from the State of Mississippi.

David G. Burnet, first President of the Republic of Texas, was born in Newark, in the State of New Jersey, on the fourth day of April, 1788. His father, the late Dr. William Burnet, was an eminent physician in Newark for many years; but, upon the breaking out of the American Revolutionary War, abandoned his profession for a season, consecrated himself and all his elder sons to the cause of his country, had the pleasure to see them all acquit themselves creditably, and to behold the oldest of them officiating as Aid-de-camp to General Greene during the greater part of the War of Independence.

The subject of this sketch, when quite young, was entered at a respectable grammar-school in Newark, where he remained until his seventeenth year was nearly completed. At this period, Commodore Creighton, one of his school-mates, obtained a warrant as midshipman in the United States' Navy, and young Burnet, seized with a strong desire to accompany him, left school with a view of applying for a warrant likewise. But an older brother, the present erudite Judge Burnet of Cincinnati, warmly dissuading him from this design of youthful ambition, he relinquished it, and soon after entered a counting-house in the City of New York, where, in the course of twelve months, he acquired those regular and methodical business habits which have been subsequently so valuable to himself and others. At the end of the period just mentioned, his desire for fame in arms was fired into new activity by the celebrated project of Miranda; and he enlisted in it by the advice of two gentlemen, for whom he entertained a high regard;—one of whom was Colonel William Smith, (son-in-law to Ex-President John Adams,) and the other was a near relation of his own, Mr. Samuel G. Ogden, (an opulent merchant of New York.) The latter of these gentlemen generously supplied a greater part of the funds which enabled Miranda to commence the execution of a design which had so long engrossed his sensibilities. Several hundred young men, at the same time, joined the veteran Patriot commander, many of whom belonged to the most respectable families in New York, who became participants in the scheme under the influence of the loftiest ambition for true glory. But Miranda did not set out from New York relying alone upon Anglo-American prowess, much as he honoured it; nor did he expect that the munificent liberality of Mr. Ogden was to cope, single-handed, with all the each other in the throne of usurped power! how many thousands of the common herd had bled before the petty altars of Bigotry and Superstition! how many enormous

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expenses which the execution of his plan might involve. On the contrary, he had been able, some time before, to establish an understanding with the British Government, or rather had concerted a secret arrangement with Mr. Pitt, the British minister, by which he was authorized to expect considerable supplies from England, both in men and money, when his revolutionising operations should be fairly in progress. For, though the English Government, as such, has not been latterly accused of being embarrassed in its general course by anything like an overweening regard for *liberal principles in the abstract*; and, indeed, for more than a half century, has been afflicted with certain aguish apprehensions as to their advance, either abroad or at home; yet Mr. Pitt, the most strenuous and unyielding enemy of the expansion of popular privileges that the present age has had to labour with, notwithstanding held in profound veneration those maxims of deceitful and scheming selfishness, which, only a century or two earlier, had softened even the despotic Elizabeth into the generous Patroness of Freedom in Holland, and which, a little later than the period of his own Dictatorial career, poured oceans of seducing treasure into Spain and Portugal to be used for the incitement of ragamuffin revolts against the dreaded power of Napoleon. This wily and intriguing British Statesman had been, indeed, exceedingly anxious for several years to get up an anti-Spanish, or rather *anti-Gallican* faction throughout the Spanish colonies in America,—not (as, if alive, he would scorn to have it supposed) because he wished to earn (what he would have considered) the *vulgar*, *Tribunitian* glory of knocking off the shackles from the limbs of a race long inured to bondage; but upon principles strictly and emphatically *British* in their character. He plainly perceived, as all the world began to do, that the wretched paper system of England was becoming rapidly exhausted under his lavish and criminal prodigality; that Buonaparte, by the controlling influence which he had gained over the Spanish crown, was drawing immense resources from the mines of Peru and Mexico; and that he would continue to do so until those mines should cease to be under the dominion of the Spanish crown, or, what was not to be hoped, till Spain should cease to render obedience to the great Conqueror. Mr. Pitt profoundly felt that Great Britain was in a state of *actual bankruptcy*—though he dared not plainly acknowledge the fact; because that acknowledgment would ring the death-knell of existing institutions, and throw open the door to all the reforms which he so much apprehended. He was soundly convinced that if he could not succeed, in some way, in replenishing the vaults of the Bank of England, then in a state of suspension, with the precious metals, there would be soon no deeds had been perpetrated in the sacred name of Liberty and Religion, over which devils besmirched in the dun smoke of hell would almost be compelled to blush! for-

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Bank of England left in the world. The precious metals from America were evidently now all going in a different direction, and strengthening the sinews of a nation, at that period wholly unencumbered with a paper system, in consequence of the vigorous exercise of moral courage displayed in crushing the vicious fabric of Assignats some years before. The four Spanish Galleons taken by Commodore Moore in 1804, whilst yet no war was pending between Spain and Great Britain, avowedly to be held as a guarantee for the neutrality of Spain, would not, if their treasure were thrown into the vaults of the Bank, give more than a temporary respite from bankruptcy; and it was not certain that equal good fortune would attend upon such enterprises in future, since Spain, by that act of treacherous hostility, had been put entirely on her guard. Something must be done. If the Bank should go down entirely, the whole power of Great Britain, as a nation devoted to the principles of thorough-paced legitimacy, would become null. Her armies would inevitably disband without waiting for orders. Her Navy would mutiny, in spite of the discipline to which it was accustomed; and her sailors would desert in numbers too large for their places to be supplied even by the favourite British remedy of *forcible impressment*. The English people, as distinguished from the privileged classes, would infallibly rise; for they were already talking freely of it. The oppressed Irish were only waiting for a good opportunity of wreaking the vengeance of centuries upon their oppressors. There might shortly be no King of England; no nobles; no tithe-fed Priests; no rotten-borough system; no monopolizing corporations; no public debt,—that priceless blessing of juggling politicians; no Prime Minister to scatter millions of the people's money to pay for the prostration of principles,—as necessary to their own happiness as to that of those who were contending for them. A scene of universal CANCELLATION and *sweeping* revolution was evidently at hand. *Gold and silver must be obtained, if possible, for the Bank.* It is not at all surprising that Mr. Pitt, with this appalling prospect before him, thought for an instant, if he did not cry out, with the noble poet of his own country,

Oh Gold! I still prefer thee unto paper,
Which makes bank credit like a bark of vapour.

For experience had begun to demonstrate to him that another British poet was not more than *half* right, when he said,

Blessed paper credit! last and best supply!
Which lends corruption lighter wings to fly!
Gold, imped by thee, can compass hardest things,—
Can pocket states, can fetch and carry Kings.

merly he had gone to Mexico for the purpose of obtaining from the Emperor Iturbide authority to people the Texan Wilderness with Anglo-American colonists; now, under

A single leaf shall waft an army o'er,
Or ship off Senates to some distant shore;
A leaf, like Sibyl's, scatter to and fro
Our fates and fortunes, as the wind shall blow,
Pregnant with thousands, flits the scrap unseen,
And silent sells a King or buys a Queen.

Mr. Pitt evidently felt alarmed at the prospect which opened upon him in 1806. It was the very year that the triumphant campaigns of Ulm and Austerlitz, according to the statement of British historians, including Sir Walter Scott, actually consigned him to the tomb. This boasted State "Pilot" was visibly trembling at the helm of the crazy and lumber-crowded vessel, which, with many feet of water in her hold, and a crowd of useless passengers on deck, he was striving adroitly to guide through the troubled waters. Nothing was more natural than that in this state of perplexity, his attention should be turned to the new world, as the old one was so full of gloom. If he could ripen the dissensions in the Spanish colonies to open revolt against Spain, Great Britain, through those insidious tactics by means of which she had already contrived to wind herself into the dominion of the Indies, and is even now encroaching on the amiable Chinese, might succeed in obtaining the exclusive control of all the gold and silver of the colonies. This might be done too, without making the common mass of colonial population a great deal freer than they then were. Pitt may not have designed to repeat the scenes of India on this side of the ocean; but he certainly never made up his mind that the inhabitants of the Spanish provinces should enjoy liberty in a higher degree than the subordinate classes of British population. He had no idea of aiding in a revolution by which England was not to profit, and profit abundantly, and he expected to hold the colonies in a state of permanent surveillance to Great Britain. The price of succour was to be the ownership, or, which is much the same thing, the direction, through British companies, of all the mining concerns of the emancipated provinces. This very scheme of policy has been actually executed since his time; for British mining companies now have charge of all the best mines in Mexico, and perhaps in South America; a fact which throws much light upon the intense affection manifested by several British statesmen of the present period for the ignoble and barbarous population of the Mexican Republic, and the apparent sanction given by the British Government to the whole action of a Despotism infinitely worse than that of Algiers, or of Tunis, ever was. The fact just noticed too, enables us to account for a proposition said to have been brought forward in the British parliament a few months since, for the establishment of a colony of a certain [illegible] the appointment of those very colonists, he was about to engage in negotiation with a second Iturbide, for their future safety and freedom.

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able description, to the West and South of Texas, to serve as a barrier to the further advance of Anglo-Americans towards the mining districts. We thus know how to understand, and the civilized world will be able to appreciate the strange *fastidiousness* evinced by the British government in reference to the recognition of Texas, as an Independent Nation, five years after she was recognized by the United States, and several years subsequent to her recognition by the magnanimous French people.

Mr. Pitt's arrangement with Miranda will now seem not at all impossible to say. At any rate, Miranda constantly asserted its existence, up to the very moment of Mr. Pitt's decease; and all his operations were shaped accordingly, as will be presently seen. When he set out from the port of New York, he steered directly to the island of St. Domingo, where he contemplated recruiting, as well as upon being joined by numerous British auxiliaries. He had not been more than a day or two in St. Domingo, before a mutiny of a very alarming character broke out among his soldiers, which at one moment threatened to blast the expedition. Miranda, being a foreigner, was not so fully confided in by the young Americans, as would have been desirable; and, moreover, the disappointment experienced in regard to the expected succours from Great Britain had produced some irritation. The timely interposition of one of Miranda's Lieutenants, who was also his private secretary, succeeded with great difficulty in allaying the ferment. That Lieutenant and Secretary was David G. Burnet, whose connection with the Patriot commander had been formed under circumstances highly favorable to the cultivation of mutual regard and friendship, and who was happily gifted with those peculiar qualities necessary to be exerted on an occasion like the one just referred to; being possessed of uncommon coolness and discretion, united with great energy and fearlessness, backed by manners at the same time commanding and conciliatory.

I shall not take upon myself the task of narrating in detail the various adventures which befell Miranda and his associates along the coast of South America; an expedition so fruitless in great consequences will only authorize a transient notice of leading occurrences. The first attempt made by Miranda to land his forces on the continent was at Porto Cabello. It was unsuccessful; the Spanish government having established a strong land and naval force at that point, who were able to repulse the Patriots, with the loss of two schooners, and eighty men, most of whom were made prisoners. The next effort was more fortunate. This was made at a place called La Ville de Coro, situated

Had the Colonists of Texas known the precise condition of public affairs at this period in Mexico, it is not probable that they would have calculated upon obtaining the object

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upon the margin of the Gulf of Venezuela. Lieutenant Burnet landed, by means of row boats, at the head of sixty men, drove two hundred and fifty Spaniards before him, and captured twenty-two pieces of cannon. But this exploit resulted in no solid advantage; for Miranda still looking out for the promised succours from Great Britain, directed the place to be abandoned, and issued sailing orders for a return to St. Domingo immediately. Upon arriving here the news of Mr. Pitt's death already referred to, extinguished all hope of immediate aid from across the Atlantic, and Miranda announced to his young companions in arms that he no longer needed their services, and that they might return again to their own country. But these unfortunate young devotees of freedom were few of them able to take advantage of the opportunity afforded of flying to the bosoms of their families; for the yellow fever broke out among them and left but few surviving. The Lieutenant was the only one left alive in a vessel manned by twelve persons: he was violently attacked and escaped very narrowly, after confinement to his bed for several weeks.

Lieutenant Burnet returned to New York and remained about a year before he heard again of Miranda; but suddenly learning that he was in chief command of a large Patriot army near Caraccas, and being sincerely attached to his old commander, he sailed immediately to South America for the purpose of rejoining him. But, to his deep chagrin, upon arriving at Caraccas, he ascertained that Miranda had been rudely displaced and was then in retirement at his villa, distant only a few miles from that city. Upon visiting him, Miranda recounted all the particulars of the mal-treatment he had received at the hands of his brother Spaniards, and advised his enthusiastic young friend to go back to New York, which he did.

It will not be expected that I should attempt to follow the Texan Ex-President, step by step, along the whole course of his subsequent adventurous life; and relate all the particulars connected with his unsuccessful attempt, on getting back to the United States, to organize an extensive mercantile establishment—his study of law under his brother in Cincinnati—his sojourn for a few months in the city of Natchez—his subsequent abode for a short time at Natchitoches, on Red river—his travels through Texas in quest of health, of which he had been despoiled at Natchitoches—his marriage with the amiable lady who is now his wife, and final location in Austin's Colony, as one of the earliest pioneers of the wilderness. It is sufficient to say, that his whole history up to the commencement of revolutionary movements in Texas, was altogether honourable to him; that he had established a reputation of their memorial. Could they have looked into futurity, and beheld the entire demolition of State authority, and the erection of a bloody and unbridled central despotism upon its ruins, they would not have continued to attach much value to any Legislative guarantee which could possibly emanate from a Mexican Congress. But the truth is, that but little had yet been ascertained in Texas as to the probable designs of Santa Anna; among the Colonists he was still recognized simply as the patriotic overthrower of Bustamente and Consolidation, and the sincere champion of the Constitution of 1824. They had seen and read with pleasure his Inaugural address as President, in which he had ostentatiously proclaimed, that, "the object of his life had been to secure to Mexicans the free enjoyment of their rights, and to break the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny, and vice," and in which, he had, with all the appearance of sincerity, promised, that "education, the element of the prosperity of nations, should receive the first care of his

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among the colonists of which any private gentleman might be justly proud; and was alike beloved and admired for his endearing qualities in social life, his commanding powers of mind, and his extensive knowledge, both of the world and of books. His subsequent career as a high public functionary will presently bring him before the reader's view in various trying situations, in all of which he will be found to have been equal to the multiplied difficulties thrown in his way, and entirely to have justified the confidence of his fellow-citizens, who had entrusted to his hands the chief authority of the young Republic, at the darkest and most perilous moment of her revolutionary struggle.

It is not a little interesting to observe that the Lieutenant of Miranda, now in his fifty-second year, has not yet lost that enthusiasm for the glory of arms which distinguished him in earlier years; and those who choose to read the history hereafter to be given of the brilliant campaign against the Cherokees, in the summer of 1839, in which Anglo-American chivalry triumphed so signally over the marauding and bloodthirsty crew of savages who from the period of their earliest settlement had proved a source of continual annoyance to the colonists, will see Ex-President Burnet, then Vice President of the Texan Republic, and who was at the same time Secretary of State, shouldering his musket as a volunteer, and fighting in the thick array of battle, in a manner which called forth the admiration of all his young associates in arms.

government—that his administration should be mild, as his own character was mild and tolerant, and that the exercise of power should not, in his hands, be made the instrument of vengeance and oppression." The confiding Texans had not yet heard of the unblushing and traitorous attempt of Santa Anna, a few weeks only after the delivery of this high-flown and Belial-like address, to procure a declaration of himself as *Dictator*, at the hands of the military. His secret and corrupt alliance with the *Priesthood*—those everlasting enemies to freedom in all Catholic countries, was yet but faintly suspected, even in Mexico. The ridiculous and Iscariot-stamped farce of *pronunciamentos*, devised by cunning Ecclesiastics, in the name of the people, for the destruction of the Constitution, had not yet been acted; but the ghostly *dramatis personæ* were just assuming their respective parts, preparatory to the anticipated grand *Rehearsal of Centralism.*

When Colonel Austin reached his place of destination, he lost no time in presenting the memorial of the Colonists. His own account of the result of his labours in Mexico, is as follows:—"Many months passed away, and nothing was done with the petition, except to refer it to a Committee of Congress, where it slept, and was likely to sleep. I finally urged the just and constitutional right of Texas to become a State, in the most pressing manner, as I believed it to be my duty to do; representing, also, the necessity and good policy of this measure, owing to the almost total want of local government of any kind, the absolute want of a Judiciary, the absolute impossibility of being governed any longer by Coahuila, (for three-fourths of the Legislature were from there,) and the consequent anarchy and discontent that existed in Texas." Colonel Austin continues: "It was my misfortune to offend the high authorities of the nation—my frank and honest exposition of the truth, was construed into threats. At this time (September and October, 1833,) a revolution was raging in many parts of the nation, and especially in the vicinity of the City of Mexico. I despaired of obtaining any thing, and wrote to Texas, recommending the people there to organise as a State *de facto*, without waiting any longer. This letter may have been imprudent, as respects the injury it might do me personally; but how far it was criminal or treasonable, considering the revolutionary state of the whole nation, and the peculiar claims and necessities of Texas, impartial men must decide. It merely expressed an opinion. This letter found its way from San Antonio de Bexar (where it was directed) to the government. I was arrested at Saltillo, two hundred leagues from Mexico, taken back to that city and imprisoned for one year — three months of that time in solitary confinement, without books or writing materials, in a dark dungeon of the former Inquisition prison. At the close of the year, I was released from confinement, but detained six months in the city on heavy bail. It was nine months after my arrival, before I was officially informed of the charges against me, or furnished with a copy of them. The constitutional requisites were not observed, my constitutional rights as a citizen were violated, the people of Texas were outraged by this treatment of their commissioner, and their respectful, humble, and just petition disregarded."

Colonel Austin reached his own home early in the month of September, 1835. During the period of his detention in Mexico, strong popular excitement had been enkindled in the Colony, which was every moment growing more intense, and rapidly spreading to all parts of the Province. Public meetings had been held throughout all the more populous districts of Texas, and fearless and accomplished orators, such as Archer, Lamar, the Whartons, and others, had dared to speak to their fellow-citizens in language of fierce and lofty indignation, in regard to all the usurping measures of the government. It was known to the chivalrous and freedom-loving Anglo-Americans that Santa Anna had forcibly dissolved the National Congress in the month of May, 1834; that a new Congress, composed exclusively of his creatures, had treasonably annulled the State Governments, and forbidden the use of arms to the citizens for their own defence. They had heard, with just alarm, that a military force had been stationed in each of the States to suppress all movements in opposition to the tyrant; and a vague rumour had reached them, that General Cos would be soon in their midst, at the head of a large body of disciplined troops, to impose the accursed yoke of consolidation upon their own necks. The horrific tragedy of Zacatecas had then just occurred, and the fate which had befallen the champions of freedom in that almost only chivalrous district of the Mexican Republic, had greatly shocked the sensibilities of the whole body of the colonists.

As early as the month of April, preceding the return of Colonel Austin, a bold and energetic protest had been addressed to the General Government of Mexico in opposition to the course which it was then pursuing, by the Congress of Coahuila and Texas; in which, after noticing the articles of the Federal Constitution that define the powers of the National Legislature, they dared to employ the following spirited language: "Therefore, the State of Coahuila and Texas, legally represented by its Legislature, protests in the most solemn manner, that having been received into the Confederation by virtue of the fundamental compact, and on the principles therein established, it does not, nor will it acknowledge the acts emanating from the General Congress, which are not in strict conformity with the express tenor of the above cited articles; nor will it admit other reforms of the Constitution, than those made in the manner therein prescribed; on the contrary, it will view as an attempt against its sovereignty every measure in opposition to these legal dispositions."

Some circumstances had occurred a few months before which should be here noticed; as they seem in several quarters to have been greatly misunderstood. During the month of March, 1835, a bill had been introduced into the Congress of Coahuila and Texas, and had received the sanction of that body, providing for the sale of the enormous quantity of four hundred leagues of the public domain, to a small company of private adventurers, at a price grossly disproportionate to the true value of the same at the time. The lands thus disposed of were to be abstracted from the unappropriated territory belonging to the Province of Texas, and to be selected according to the judgment of the contractors. There can be no doubt that this arrangement originated in fraud, and that Congress had been shamefully imposed upon in the transaction. The law was productive at once of strong irritation among the whole body of Texan settlers; who were justly resentful of this attempt to bargain away, for a mere nominal consideration, so large a portion of their territory; and Congress, when the true facts of the case were gradually disclosed, became exceedingly anxious, if possible, to *recede* from what had been done. The discussions which occurred in connection with this unfortunate measure, were quite heated and tumultuous; and about the same period other questions arose, which gave to the councils of the State much appearance of distraction. The military Commandant despatched by Santa Anna to Monclova, where the State Congress then held its session—under whose direction had been placed a body of soldiers ready to obey any orders which he might issue—determined to take advantage of a state of things so favourable to the design of his master against the State governments. Accordingly, he lost no time in declaring various legislative enactments of the State Congress null, and threatened to enter the Capitol at the head of his soldiers, to disperse Congress, and depose the Governor, if immediate obedience were not tendered to the government which he assumed to represent. Congress, alarmed at these proceedings, passed a decree authorising the Governor, *Viesca*, to establish the seat of government, *provisionally*, at any point where he thought the public business could be transacted without interruption from the military. Viesca, thus empowered, made choice of the Town of San Antonio de Bexar, as the temporary Capital, and attempted to remove the archives of the State thither without delay. Whilst in motion for this purpose, he was suddenly arrested, by the order of the Mexican Commandant referred to, (who was no other person than the infamous General Cos,) and thrown into prison; together with several other individuals suspected of participating in this movement. We shall see more of *Cos* in due season, when, after establishing the dominion of *Centralism* along the Rio Grande, and subverting the civil authority everywhere in his progress, he makes his grand *entrée* into Texas on the same sublime errand.

Such was the precise nature of the crisis that had been attained, when the arrival of Colonel Austin in Texas, as above narrated, assembled a vast concourse of the colonists about his person, all eager to hear from his own lips the story of his sufferings, and to receive from one so highly venerated those sage and honest counsels which their knowledge of his character authorized them to expect. The Texans had hitherto postponed all decided action in avengement of their grievances, in anticipation of this interview, as well as from an apprehension, altogether reasonable, that any demonstrations of hostility on their part, towards the Mexican government, if too openly made, ere their beloved chief had been able to release himself from the durance in which he was then involved, might expose him to serious inconvenience, if indeed his valuable life should not be thereby compromised.

It was agreed that the colonists generally should be convened at Brassoria, the most central point which could be selected, in a day or two; and that at a public dinner, designed to be tendered to Colonel Austin, in honour of his return, his views in reference to the existing condition of affairs, and the future prospects of Texas, should be made known through the medium of a public address. In accordance with these arrangements, the following speech was delivered by Colonel Austin, on the 8th day of September, when more than a thousand Anglo-Americans listened to him for nearly an hour with unbroken delight.

"I cannot refrain from returning my unfeigned thanks for the flattering sentiments with which I have just been honoured, nor have I words to express my satisfaction on returning to this my more than native country, and meeting so many of my friends and companions in its settlement.

"I left Texas in April, 1833, as the public agent of the people, for the purpose of applying for the admission of this country into the Mexican confederation as a state separate from Coahuila. This application was based upon the constitutional and vested rights of Texas, and was sustained by me in the City of Mexico to the utmost of my abilities. No honourable means were spared to effect the objects of my mission, and to oppose the forming of Texas into a territory, which was attempted. I rigidly adhered to the instructions and wishes of my constituents, so far as they were communicated to me. My efforts to serve Texas involved me in the labyrinth of Mexican politics; I was arrested, and have suffered a long persecution and imprisonment. I consider it to be my duty to give an account of these events to my constituents, and will therefore at this time merely observe that I have never, in any manner, agreed to any thing, or admitted any thing, that would compromise the constitutional or vested rights of Texas. These rights belong to the people, and can only be surrendered by them.

"I fully hoped to find Texas at peace and in tranquillity, but regret to find it in commotion; all disorganized, all in anarchy, and threatened with immediate hostilities. This state of things is deeply to be lamented: it is a great misfortune, but it is one which has not been produced by any acts of the people of this country; on the contrary, it is the natural and inevitable consequence of the revolution that has spread all over Mexico, and of the imprudent and impolitic measures of both the General and State governments, with respect to Texas. The people here are not to blame, and cannot be justly censured. They are farmers, cultivators of the soil, and are pacific from interest, from occupation, and from inclination. They have uniformly endeavoured to sustain the Constitution and the public peace by pacific means, and have never deviated from their duty as Mexican citizens. If any acts of imprudence have been committed by individuals, they evidently resulted from the revolutionary state of the whole nation, the imprudent and censurable conduct of the state authorities, and the total want of a local government in Texas. It is, indeed, a source of surprise and creditable congratulation, that so few acts of this description have occurred under the peculiar circumstances of the times. It is, however, to be remembered that acts of this nature were not the acts of the people, nor is Texas responsible for them. They were, as I before observed, the natural consequences of the revolutionary state of the Mexican nation; and Texas certainly did not originate that revolution, neither have the people, as a people, participated in it. The consciences and hands of the Texans are free from censure, and clean.

"The revolution in Mexico is drawing to a close. The object is to change the form of government, destroy the Federal Constitution of 1824, and establish a central or consolidated government. The states are to be converted into provinces.

"Whether the people of Texas ought or ought not to agree to this change, and relinquish all or a part of their constitutional and vested rights under the Constitution of 1824, is a question of the most vital importance; one that calls for the deliberate consideration of the people, and can only be decided by them, fairly convened for the purpose. As a citizen of Texas, I have a right to an opinion on so important a matter—I have no other right, and pretend to no other. In the report which I consider it my duty to make to my constituents, I intend to give my views on the present situation of the country, and especially as to the constitutional and natural rights of Texas, and will, therefore, at this time, merely touch on this subject.

"Under the Spanish government, Texas was a separate and distinct province. As such, it had a separate and distinct local organization. It was one of the unities that composed the general mass of the nation, and as such participated in the war of the revolution, and was represented in the constituent Congress of Mexico, that formed the Constitution of 1824. This constituent Congress, so far from destroying this unity, expressly recognized and confirmed it by the law of May 7, 1824, which united Texas with Coahuila *provisionally*, under the especial guarantee of being made a state of the Mexican confederation, as soon as it possessed the necessary elements. That law and the federal Constitution gave to Texas a specific political existence, and vested in its inhabitants special and defined rights, which can only be relinquished by the people of Texas, acting for themselves as a unity, and not as a part of Coahuila, for the reason that the union with Coahuila was *limited*, and only gave power to the State of Coahuila and Texas to govern Texas for the time being, *but always subject to the, vested* rights *of Texas*. The State, therefore, cannot relinquish those vested rights, by agreeing to the change of government, or by any other act, unless expressly authorized by the people of Texas to do so; neither can the general government of Mexico legally deprive Texas of them without the consent of this people. These are my opinions.

"An important question now presents itself to the people of this country.

"The federal Constitution of 1824 is about to be destroyed, the system of government changed, and a central or consolidated one established. Will this act annihilate all the rights of Texas, and subject this country to the uncontroled and unlimited dictation of the new government?

"This is a subject of the most vital importance. I have no doubt the federal Constitution will be destroyed, and a central government established, and that the people will soon be called upon to say whether they agree to this change or not. This matter requires the most calm discussion, the most mature deliberation, and the most perfect union. How is this to be had? I see but one way, and that is by a general consultation of the people by means of delegates elected for that purpose, with full powers to give such an answer, in the name of Texas, to this question, as they may deem best, and to adopt such measures as the tranquillity and salvation of the country may require.

"It is my duty to state that general Santa Anna verbally and expressly authorized me to say to the people of Texas, that he was their friend, that he wished for their prosperity, and would do all he could to promote it; and that, in the new constitution, he would use his influence to give to the people of Texas a special organization suited to their education, habits, and situation. Several of the most intelligent and influential men in Mexico, and especially the Ministers of Relations and War, expressed themselves in the same manner. These declarations afford another and more urgent necessity for a general consultation of all Texas, in order to inform the general government, and especially general Santa Anna, what kind of organization will suit the education, habits, and situation of this people.

"It is also proper for me to state that, in all my conversation with the President and ministers and men of influence, I advised that no troops should be sent to Texas, nor cruisers along the coast. I gave it as my decided opinion, that the inevitable consequence of sending an armed force to this country would be war. I stated that there was a sound and correct moral principle in the people of Texas that was abundantly sufficient to restrain or put down all turbulent or seditious movements, but that this moral principle could not, and would not unite with any armed force sent against this country; on the contrary, it would resist and repel it, and ought to do so. This point presents another strong reason why the people of Texas should meet in general consultation. This country is now in anarchy, threatened with hostilities; armed vessels are capturing every thing they can catch on the coast, and acts of piracy are said to be committed under cover of the Mexican flag. Can this state of things exist without precipitating the country into a war? I think it cannot, and therefore believe that it is our bounden and solemn duty as Mexicans, and as Texans, to represent the evils that are likely to result from this mistaken and most impolitic policy in the military movements.

"My friends, I can truly say that no one has been, or is now, more anxious than myself to keep trouble away from this country. No one has been, or now is, more faithful to his duty as a Mexican citizen, and no one has personally sacrificed or suffered more in the discharge of this duty. I have uniformly been opposed to have any thing to do with the family political quarrels of the Mexicans. Texas needs peace, and a local government: its inhabitants are farmers, and they need a calm and quiet life. But how can I, or any one, remain indifferent, when our rights, our all, appear to be in jeopardy, and when it is our duty, as well as our obligation as good Mexican citizens, to express our opinions on the present state of things, and to represent our situation to the government? It is impossible. The crisis is such as to bring it home to the judgment of every man that something must be done, and that without delay. The question will perhaps be asked, what are we to do? I have already indicated my opinion. Let all personalities, or divisions, or excitements, or passion, or violence, be banished from among us. Let a general consultation of the people of Texas be convened as speedily as possible, to be composed of the best, and most calm, and intelligent, and firm men in the country, and let them decide what representations ought to be made to the general government, and what ought to be done in future.

"With these explanatory remarks I will give as a toast —*The constitutional rights and the security and peace of Texas—they ought to be maintained; and, jeopardised as they now are, they demand a general consultation of the people.*"

CHAPTER III.

Plan of Consultation universally sanctioned, and time of its convocation agreed to be the 15th of October. Committees of Safety; their usefulness; various addresses issued by them. Cos arrives at San Antonio de Bexar, and makes various demands of the Texans; who treat them with contempt, and prepare for war. Some account of Lorenzo de Zavala, first Vice President of Texas.

Those who had been auditors of Colonel Austin's speech at Brassoria, could not fail to be convinced, even if they had previously doubted on the subject, that Texas was in imminent danger; and that prudence demanded the immediate adoption of efficient defensive measures. The *concentration of Anglo-American strength*, was evidently the first object to be attended to. The plan of holding a *consultation*, was warmly sanctioned everywhere, and arrangements were entered into for bringing about a convocation of that body on the 15th of the ensuing month (October). An earlier session would have been certainly desirable, but that was impracticable. Little difficulty was likely to be experienced in getting up the Consultation; since Committees of Safety had been already organized in all the more densely settled neighbourhoods, which promised to become strong rallying points of popular feeling, and even now constituted a highly convenient medium for the diffusion of intelligence as to passing events. These Committees were all composed of men of approved virtue, and undoubted energy of character, and had done, and were now doing, much good, both in rousing the Texans to a knowledge of their true situation, and in awakening the requisite sympathy in the United States. Attention was beginning to be given in different parts of the Union to interesting events transpiring in Texas; several leading journals, much to their credit, had enlisted in behalf of their suffering brethren in the far South-West, and were rapidly correcting erroneous notions in regard to Texas and the Texans. It will be seen, in the sequel, that the excitement, now commencing in the United States, deepened and widened, until the whole Republic was as it were completely inundated; and there is no doubt, that if the war in Texas had been continued much longer, a hundred thousand men, if needed, would have marched to the rescue of freedom, and the avengement of the tyranny which had been practised upon their own relatives and friends by bloody-minded barbarians. At the head of one of the Committees spoken of, and for several reasons the most important of them all, Colonel Austin immediately stationed himself. His active mind demanded constant employment; his soul was full of solicitude for the future. The Committee in which he presided was that of San Felipe de Austin. Its location was central—San Antonio de Bexar, where Cos was momently expected, being within convenient reach—and the shore of the Gulf, supposed likewise to be threatened by an invading force, being equally accessible. Besides, San Felipe de Austin had been for years the focus of important landed concerns, and was more a place of popular resort at that period than any other in Texas. But there was a circumstance, not yet mentioned, that gave to the station occupied by Colonel Austin, peculiar and surpassing efficiency: a newspaper was in operation at San

Felipe de Austin, which was exclusively devoted to the revolutionary cause, as it began to be considered. This paper was edited with singular ability and zeal: Messrs. Borden and Baker, by whom it was conducted, replenished the columns of the "Telegraph and Texas Register," weekly, with spirited and well-written articles, of which the most accomplished men who have lent dignity to the newspaper press in the present age might have been justly proud. Through the medium of this patriotic gazette, the Committee of Safety at San Felipe de Austin, sent forth repeated addresses to the colonists, which pervaded every part of Texas, and in due season reached the United States; and these addresses were in every instance backed and sustained by the editorial department of the paper—with arguments, detailed facts, and often the most thrilling eloquence. The following Circular, under date of September the 19th, will enable the reader to judge of the manner in which Colonel Austin performed his functions as the head of his committee.

Circular from the Committee of Safety of the Jurisdiction of Austin.

San Felipe, September 19th, 1835.

Information of the most important and decisive character has just been received from Bejar, from unquestionable authority, which, in the opinion of this Committee, calls for the prompt attention of the people. The substance of this information is, that General Cos was expected at Bejar, on the 16th of this month, with more troops; that he intended to make an immediate attack on the colonies; that there was a plan to try and foment division and discord among the people, so as to use one part against the other, and prevent preparation; and that the real object is to break up the foreign settlements in Texas. This Committee have no doubt of the correctness of the information, and therefore recommend—

That the people should maintain the position taken by them at their primary meetings—to insist on their rights under the Federal Constitution of 1824, and the law of the 7th of May of that year, and union with the Mexican confederation:

That every district should send members to the general Consultation, with full powers to do whatever may be necessary for the good of the country:

That every district should organize its militia, where it is not already done, and hold frequent musters; and that the captains of companies make a return, without delay, to the chief of this department, of the force of his company, and of its arms and ammunition, in order that he may lay the same before the general Consultation of Texas. Volunteer companies are also recommended.

This Committee deem it to be their duty to say that, in their opinion, all kind of conciliatory measures with General Cos and the military at Bejar are hopeless, and that nothing but the RUIN of Texas can be expected from any such measures. They have already, and very properly, been resorted to, without effect. WAR is our only resource. There is no other remedy. We must defend our rights, ourselves, and our country by force of arms. To do this we must unite—and in order to unite, the delegates of the people must meet in general consultation, and arrange a system of defence, and give organization to the country so as to produce concert. Until some competent authority is established to direct, all that can be done is to recommend this subject to the people, and to advise every man in Texas to prepare for war, and lay aside all hope of conciliation.

S. F. Austin,
Chairman.

The subjoined correspondence between the two committees of Mina and San Felipe de Austin, cannot fail to be read with interest, as showing the noble zeal which pervaded the whole committee system of Texas at this time.

To the Committee of Safety of Mina, and to J. H. Moore, Rio Colorado.

Gonzales, September 25th, 1835.

I am directed by the Committee of Safety of Gonzales to address you for the purpose of procuring immediate assistance to repel an expected attack of the enemy. The circumstances which influence us to this measure are these. A demand, at the instance of Colonel Ugartechea, has been made for a piece of cannon, which has been in this town upwards of four years. This cannon is not needed in Bejar, for they have eighteen pieces there, all unmounted, besides those they have mounted; this piece was given us unconditionally, as we are informed, for the defence of this colony. From every circumstance, and from information, we are justified in believing that this demand is only made to get a pretext to make a sudden inroad and attack upon this colony for marauding and other purposes.

The Alcalde, with the approbation of the people, has refused to deliver up the cannon; and we are satisfied that, as soon as Colonel Ugartechea is informed of the fact, he will immediately send a force against this colony at least, thinking us too weak to resist him. We therefore earnestly request you to send what force you can collect immediately to our assistance. You need make no delay about provisions, for we have plenty at your service. The time we think is most pressing, and the occasion most urgent. In haste, &c. By order of the Committee.

[Signed] G. W. Davis, *Secretary.*

San Felipe de Austin, September 29th, 1835.

The Committee of the Jurisdiction of Austin has received the communication directed to the Committee of Safety of Mina by you, in the name of the people of Gonzales, under date of the 25th inst., stating that Colonel Ugartechea had made a demand for the piece of cannon at that place, and that the people, in a general meeting, had refused to give it up. You state that, "from every circumstance, and from information, the people are justified in believing that this demand is only made to get a pretext to make a sudden inroad and attack upon that colony for marauding and other purposes;" in consequence of which those people request assistance to aid in repelling an attack, should one be made.

The present movements of the people of Texas are of a popular and voluntary character, in defence of their *constitutional rights*, which are threatened by military invasion of an *unconstitutional* character. The people are acting on the defensive; and, therefore, there cannot be a doubt that it was correct in the people of Gonzales, under this principle, to detain the piece of cannon which was given to them by the authorities of a *constitutional* government, to defend themselves and the constitution, if necessary.

On this principle, the people of this, and of every other section of the country, so far as this Committee is informed, are ready to fly at a moment's warning to the defence of these people, should they be attacked. Companies of volunteers have already marched, and more are in readiness, should they be needed, to repel an attack.

This Committee beg leave to suggest that inasmuch as the position taken by the country up to the present time, is purely *defensive*, it is very important to keep this principle constantly in view, and to avoid making attacks unless they should be necessary as a measure of defence.

Yours, respectfully,
S. F. AUSTIN,
Chairman of Committee.

G. W. DAVIS, *Secretary of the Committee of Gonzales.*

It was only a day or two after Colonel Austin's official letter, above set forth, before authentic intelligence reached San Felipe de Austin, confirmatory of previous rumours in regard to the movements of Cos. He had arrived at San Antonio de Bexar, and had brought with him more than four hundred additional troops, and sixty thousand dollars in specie; so that he was apparently not deficient in the *sinews of war*. He was certainly not at all deficient in effrontery; Buonaparte, after conquering Italy, scarcely used language more ostentatious than did this vaunting understrapper. If the real designs of Santa Anna and his vile comrades in usurpation had been somewhat veiled in mystery before the arrival of Cos, he was obliging enough to disperse that mystery at once. He had in fact no sooner set foot in San Antonio de Bexar, than he promulged his determination, in terms equally haughty and indecent, quickly to compel the Texans, in dust and ashes, to render homage to the blood-stained Moloch of Centralism; in default of which, he threatened to mount his war-chariot, and drive the whole Anglo-American race beyond the Sabine. He called them "*vagrants*," and had made up his mind to treat them accordingly. He openly announced his intention to re-establish the odious custom-houses along the Texan coast, which it will be recollected had fallen before Anglo-American valour in 1832. The whole country was to be placed immediately under military rule. He issued a pompous proclamation, such as we would expect to emanate from a drunken Indian Chief, who by some accident had learned to write; in which he demanded that the amiable and accomplished* Zavala should be surrendered to him for punishment. Zavala had sought refuge in Texas from a tyranny which he had dared to oppose and denounce. This demand of Cos likewise embraced several

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* As this distinguished Mexican patriot became subsequently the first Vice President of the Republic of Texas, and the magnanimous refusal of the Texans to surrender his person, in obedience to the dictatorial requisition of Santa Anna, formed a prominent pretext, if it did not constitute an actual motive, for the hostilities soon after commenced by General Cos; the reader will not be surprised that a few remarks are here offered upon the life and character of so celebrated a personage. The history of Vice President Zavala was marked with such a number of extraordinary adventures, both in Europe and America, as well to justify an elaborate biography, at the hands of some one qualified for the task; and it is to be hoped that his intimate personal friend, and former political associate, General Mirabeau B. Lamar, who has been for some time looked to on this subject, will yet find leisure to do full justice to the brilliant merits of one who lent much dignity to the Texan struggle for Independence and Liberty.

Lorenzo de Zavala was a native of the fine province of Yucatan; he enjoyed the advantage of a regular collegiate education, and spent much of his early life in Europe, amidst scientific associations eminently calculated to impart polish and refinement to his manners, and give expansion and vigour to his understanding. He was one of the most zealous friends of that whole train of measures, the adoption of which led ultimately to the severance of the Spanish colonies in America from the mother country; and by the boldness and freedom of his declarations on this subject, whilst a delegate to the Spanish Cortes, in 1820, and during the subsequent year, rendered himself an object of special suspicion to the Spanish court, and was consequently subjected to much harassment. He was in France, when regular charges were preferred against him at Madrid, of being implicated in certain secret arrangements then proceeding, having for their object the emancipation of the colonies from Spanish rule; and, being warned by several of his friends, including Revenga, Lopes de Bec, and Echavarria, that his life would be placed in much jeopardy by his return to Madrid, he determined to set out for the United States, without delay, on his way back to Mexico. He arrived at New Orleans on the 20th of December, in the year 1821, where he spent several months. Here, from a Catholic Priest, known as Padre Antonio, he received the first intelligence that Yucatan had declared for Independence. At the close of the revolutionary struggle in Mexico, Zavala was conspicuously concerned in the establishment of the Constitution of 1824. Being an ardent republican in principle, he was noted at this period for his devotion to the new Constitution, and stood openly committed to all those plans of reformation proposed for the purpose of securing to the Federative system, if possible, a successful career. He was jealous of the power of the Priesthood from the first, considering their influence, as likely to be exerted, altogether unfriendly to free institutions. It is a part of the history of Mexico, (presumed not to be entirely unknown to the reader,) that the whole of that portion of Mexican population judged to be favourable to the re-introduction of monarchy, (who constituted a strong party,) had, at this time, organised themselves into a solid corporate phalanx, under the generic appellation of "*Escoceses;*" and, by means of numerous affiliated clubs, and by the aid of several highly inflammatory newspapers, were industriously labouring to overthrow the frame of government established, and rear up one in its stead suited to their own particular views. The "Escoceses" were originally nothing more than a Masonic society, introduced under *Scotch* auspices, (as their name implied,) long anterior to the revolution; and now transformed by intriguother individuals who had been long recognised as citizens of Texas. Cos was evidently quite serious in this requisition of Zavala, and he was doubtless equally so in relation

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ing aristocrats into a strong political engine. This association had spread itself throughout the various States of the Republic, and could number among its members all who, under the ancient régime, had held titles of nobility—all the Catholic clergy, without exception, many ambitious military officers, who had fought against the revolution, together with nearly all the native Spaniards of every class. The influence of such a Briarean Institution as the Escoceses, in such a country as Mexico, where, for a thousand reasons not necessary to be here repeated, political parties, known and acting as such, discriminated from each other by principle, and conflicting with each other, in support of, or in opposition to, known opinions and tenets, by the publicly-wielded weapons of argument and persuasion, could not possibly have being, or at least efficient action,—may be easily estimated. Such an institution, it was plain, must soon become stronger than the government, and would eventually work its overthrow. This was perceived by the friends of Republicanism, among whom Zavala was conspicuous; and they resolved *to fight the devil with fire*, as the saying is. A new Masonic order was set on foot, denominated the "Yorkinos," a name assumed in honour of the republican city of New York, whence their diplomas and other insignia, were to be derived. The American Minister at Mexico, Mr. Poinsett, upon application, kindly undertook to make all the necessary arrangements in New York for the facilitation of this generous and now indispensable project. The new *Politico-Masonic* sect was thus enabled very soon to commence active operations.

It may be easily conjectured, from what has already been stated, that Zavala participated deeply in this whole movement; and such was certainly the case, for the Lodges, or *Clubs*, as they might more justly be styled, were most of them organized under his supervision, and he became *Grand Master* of the new fraternity of "Yorkinos," or rather Republicans, whose leading objects were proclaimed to be the maintenance of national independence, the preservation of the Federative system, and the promotion of knowledge and virtue among the people. The success of the Yorkinos was truly astonishing, and they very soon found themselves in possession of so large a share of popular confidence as easily to control all the important elections in the Republic.

Zavala was made Governor of the State of Mexico, either in 1829, or in the following year, and is well known to have sustained himself in that station with singular ability and skill. From his first connection with public affairs, he became conspicuous as a friend to science, and scientific men; this was but natural, since his own mind was the repository of a vast fund of valuable learning which he was continually to driving the Texans beyond the Sabine, if ready obedience was not proffered. But he did not expect to be compelled to put forth all his energies; on the contrary, he

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pouring forth for the benefit of his fellow-men. His scholastic attainments will not fail of commanding the respect of all who have read his two spirited and elegant historic volumes entitled "*Revoluciones de la Nueva-España*;" in which he has given to the world a graphic and accurate narrative of all the Revolutionary transactions in Mexico, from the year 1808 to the year 1830; and in a temperate, dignified, and philosophic manner, has explained all the conflicting influences which marked twenty-two years of almost continuous intestine convulsions. But his chief glory certainly consists in having projected and put in successful operation a grand system of primary schools, which, had they been spared by the vandalic fury of Bustamente, might in time have raised Mexico from that state of degradation in which the Revolution left her, and from which it is improbable now that she will ever emerge. Zavala appears to have occupied the office of Governor of the State of Mexico several years, and was still officiating as such, when his political friends demanded his services in the National Congress, in the year 1833, for the attainment of objects hereafter to be noticed.

In the mean time, several events occurred which claim special consideration. In the year 1828, when the noted contest between Guerero and Pedraza came on, the former being recognized as a staunch Republican, whilst the latter had been long notorious for his fierce Aristocratic zeal, Zavala was of course decidedly enlisted in favour of Guerero. I cannot learn that he took a very active part in the early period of the controversy; perhaps the station which he held prevented his doing so. But when the will of the nation had been shamefully defeated, and Pedraza was unblushingly foisted into the first office of the Republic by manifest bribery, his manly and honest soul was moved to high indignation, and he did not shrink from the responsibility of announcing his views to his fellow-citizens, in language worthy of a Brutus or a Cato. He laboured, at the same time though, to prevent any violent movements, until the appropriate Legislative Chamber had settled the Presidential question definitively; still hoping that the knavery which had been attempted, would be counteracted in the hall of Representatives. But Santa Anna, also a supporter of Guerero's pretensions, not so much upon principle as with a hope of redeeming himself from the disgrace in which certain acts of moral delinquency had recently involved him, could not afford to await the effect of moderate and prudential counsels, and flying to his regiment, while Congress was yet deliberating upon the grave question before it, announced from his Head Quarters at Perote that he regarded the election of Pedraza as a nullity, and had resolved at the head of a body of men whom he styled "the confidently expected that a few days would surround him with thousands of humble suppliants for mercy; that his sublime presence would strike a sort of electric panic into

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Liberating Army," to march to Mexico, and place Guerero in the Executive chair by force. The most violent proceedings were at once commenced in the Mexican Congress against Santa Anna, who was declared by that body *an outlaw*. This was not so much to be blamed; but the zeal of Pedraza and his friends was far from stopping at this point: they determined to commence penal proceedings against all of the friends of Guerero, who were even suspected of siding with Santa Anna. Zavala equally condemned the corruption which by this time had been developed in Congress, and deplored the reckless violence of Santa Anna. So far, neither he nor Guerero had shown the least disposition to resort to warlike measures. But he quickly found that Pedraza and the Aristocratic faction who controlled his actions, if the tyrannous course they were pursuing were not checked in some way, would inevitably overturn the liberties of the Republic, and he began, therefore, to cast about him diligently for expedients suited to the perilous emergency that had arisen. He was altogether averse to civil war if it could be possibly avoided. As Governor of Mexico, he commenced a correspondence with the Federal functionaries, and ventured to protest against their acts in language at the same time respectful, yet frank and energetic. As Grand Master of the "Yorkinos," he communicated freely with his republican brethren of the various lodges, admonishing peace for the present—peace until war should be forced upon them by their adversaries—but taking some pains to prepare them to defend the citadel of liberty by arms, if all other means should unfortunately fail. He received a proposition from Pedraza inviting him to a conversational interview, to which he acceded, in spite of the opposition of his friends, who dreaded violence to his person; and in this interview he laboured strenuously to bring about a pacific adjustment of pending difficulties. But all his patriotic efforts were unavailing; Pedraza and his comrades still persisted in their headlong course; and they finally determined to have Zavala himself brought to trial upon a charge of *Treason*. In accordance with this design, judicial proceedings were instituted against him, whilst he was absent from the Capital, and was engaged in the performance of official duties as Governor of Mexico; and his enemies, forcing the Grand Jury who had his case before them to sit night and day, and to desecrate even the Christian Sabbath, at length procured from that tribunal a declaration that *there was ground for putting him upon farther trial*; and immediately despatched a strong body of regular soldiers to his residence, at San Augustin de las Cuevas, for the purpose of dragging the Executive chief of a sovereign State in chains before his tyrants, *nominally* to be subjected to trial, but really the whole mass of Anglo-American population; and as to Zavala, he fully calculated upon seeing that venerable Chieftain dragged before his august tribunal, with a rope

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to experience instant and certain death, according to the well-known maxims of *Mexican Justice*. The palace of the Governor on this occasion was closely invested by the military—the Legislature of the State being in session at the time, and important business being in progress before it. A wild and furious scene of commotion ensued; a majority of the Legislature protested against the conduct of the Federal rulers; the populace collected in crowds around the Executive mansion, vowing to rescue their beloved Chief from the clutches of a hireling soldiery. Nothing would have been more easy than for Zavala, at that moment, to have commenced a Revolution, which would have swept his persecutors from power in five days. But this good man was still anxious to avoid bloodshed, if practicable; and fled to the neighbouring mountains for refuge, attended by a single friend. Hence he issued a manifesto in which he struggled once more to bring the government to reason. General Filisola, who commanded the soldiers that had been sent by Pedraza to domineer over the State authorities of Mexico, ascertaining his place of concealment, issued a special order for his apprehension; but, being apprised of this order, he fled again before his enemies, who were a second time disappointed of their victim. Now he did not run to the mountains; but sought covert among his friends who lived in the neighbourhood of what had been lately his own abode. Speaking of the reception accorded him by his old neighbours, he says: "I was received not only with regard, but with a sort of religious respect, far exceeding ordinary hospitality; and was constantly kept apprised of the movements of the troops destined to pursue me." Satisfied, at length, that the Revolution could not much longer be postponed with safety, he determined to venture within the walls of the Capital, and there arrange everything for the last scene of the drama. He thus describes the treatment he received at the hands of his Republican friends in the City of Mexico: "Nothing shows in a stronger light the general disposition of the public mind to shake off the tyranny of the government, than the reception which I experienced in Mexico. At a time when the hospitalities afforded to a man proscribed, might expose them, in their turn, to the persecutions of the despots, citizens presented themselves on all sides to honour me with their generous offers. The houses in which I was received, were filled with distinguished persons of every class; and I remained in security in the middle of the Capital, pursued by the Executive, without its being possible to ascertain my abode. So certain is it that the power of opinion is superior to the efforts of Despotism."

I cite from the Executive Manifesto, issued by Governor Zavala, in about his aged and stainless hands, to add one more to the thousands of innocent victims who had already perished by the fell cruelty of Santa Anna.

January, 1829, the following account of the scene which preceded the first rumbling of the storm of Revolution in the Capital;—"I published various pamphlets with the view of inducing the government to adopt a conciliatory system; and to try the effect of an amnesty, or an amicable arrangement. I pictured, in strong terms, the danger with which it was threatened, if it persisted in the rigorous measures which it had first pursued, through ignorance, or upon mistaken principles, imitating in its conduct that of Ferdinand VII., after his restoration to absolute power. The President, the Ministry, and the Chambers, were deaf to the energetic voice of reason, to the cry of opinion, and even to the menaces of the Patriots. All saw the tempest about to burst upon those who only listened to the councils of resentment, and allowed themselves to be hurried away by an ambition, contrary in its tendency to the dearest wishes of the Mexicans! At length it was resolved to make use of the sacred, though dangerous, right of insurrection, to which a People appeals as a last remedy for national grievances."

The bloody scene that ensued, during which, for three days and nights, Mexico was drenched in the blood of her citizens, has long since been recorded by other pens. The conduct of Zavala, throughout this melancholy transaction, was marked with striking forbearance and moderation. In the conclusion of the Manifesto, already quoted from, he uses language in which several of the peculiar characteristics which belonged to him are finely displayed to view. "I had it in my power," says he, "to take a bloody revenge upon my own enemies, and those of the country. But convinced that Republican governments are not to be consolidated by terror, I did not think it expedient to follow the terrible example of Sylla, who shed so much blood uselessly. If my personal foes, reversing, at some future period, the present order of things, choose to avenge themselves by blood, I prefer the death of the Sydneys, the Riegos, and the Baillis, to leaving such a stain upon my memory. My maxim is to do all the good that I can, and as little ill as possible. My friends and my enemies, who have had dealings with me, have never quitted me condemning my heart. Both by system, and by inclination, I am in a position neither to persecute, nor excite persecutions. But if the Aristocrats endeavour to avenge themselves;—if they are not content with an equal influence, and an equal share of public employment, with other citizens, more capable than they are to direct our affairs;—if they promote re-actions, and oppose, step by step, fresh obstacles to the reforms which the new order of things requires;—if, from a blind attachment to a system of oppression, they refuse to accommodate themselves to the political transactions of the country;—

But Cos did not at all understand the lofty characteristics of the people with whom he had now to deal. And, indeed, it would be little more absurd to suppose an infant capable

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and if, shut up within the narrow circle of a few paltry ideas, they cannot take the rapid flight which the present generation has commenced; —if, in a word, they do not embrace with good faith that political creed, which the nation has made the fundamental rule of its belief and fidelity;—let them not complain if the people detest them, and if their hopes be shattered by the irresistible force of opinion. Let them fear, too, that our policy will assume a bloody colouring, and make them the victims of their own obstinacy and folly.

"Mexicans! I have ventured to address you as a fellow-citizen, who has been compelled to become one of the principal actors in the great movements which have, of late, agitated the Republic. I have the satisfaction of thinking, that neither the system nor the institutions have in any way suffered; we are more free than ever. No one has ever been injured by us; and the laws have recovered their whole power. I have presented myself before the public, as I have been in office, without disguise or ornament. My style is consequently irregular, and perhaps too simple; but it has not been my object to compose an academic oration, in order to obtain the prize of eloquence. The only prize to which I aspire is, that when pronouncing your judgment upon my political conduct and its results, you may say amongst yourselves: —'*This man is not a criminal.*'"

The reader has been already advised that Zavala became a member of the National Congress in 1833. He represented in that body his native Province of Yucatan. He had up to that time been pursuing the great work of moral reform, to which he had devoted himself with a heroic boldness and unceasing industry worthy of a Romilly or a Brougham. Could he have had a few enlightened co-labourers, he would have done much for the future generations of Mexico. The sceptre had now been torn from the hands of Bustamente. Pedraza, who had been lately reinstated by the ever-shifting sword of Santa Anna, had just retired from office. Santa Anna was seated in the Presidential station, and this Veiled Prophet of Khorassan had not yet exposed his hideous visage to the popular view as an enemy to Liberty. The Republicans and of consequence the Reforming party, in Congress, for want of a suitable Leader, had so far been able to do nothing in honour of their *professed* principles. Many members, perhaps honestly enough, avowed an earnest desire to engage in the removal of existing political abuses, if they could find out precisely *how* this was to be effected. Others, again, testified a sort of feverish restlessness over the inaction to which they were doomed by their total ignorance of public affairs, and declared themselves ambitious of earning the glory of participating of fathoming all the intellectual profundity of a Newton or a Descartes, than to imagine such a superficial popinjay as this subordinate of Santa Anna seems to have been, — so

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in the compilation of a legal system obviously so bad that it would have puzzled the most ingenious planner of mischievous legislation to find out how it could be possibly rendered worse. The fiscal concerns of the Republic were in horrible disorder, and all seemed alike anxious to provide against threatened bankruptcy. But who was there, of all this motley and illiterate throng of pompous wranglers, that could leap with majestic grace into the sword-winged chariot of Reform, and drive it forward with a bold and steady energy to the desired goal? what member of this heterogeneous assemblage of purblind law-makers had yet been able, by any strain of his intellectual vision, even to get in sight of that same goal, or knew in what direction to look for it, amidst those thick mists of ignorance and prejudice which curtained it about? But when Zavala came among them, the machine of Reform began to move on with regularity. The first expedient proposed in Congress by him was levelled at the Catholic Hierarchy. The Priesthood had been left by the revolution in possession of greater part of the wealth of the country, and they were still going on to multiply their treasures by every art either of fraud, or oppression. Their influence was consequently unbounded. They paid nothing, and were wholly unwilling to pay anything towards the support of government. This state of things could not be longer endured. I shall not here undertake either to estimate the hundreds of millions of Church property, or the enormous annual revenue collected in various forms from the body of the people for the support of a fraternity of men worse than useless to the nation; the subject has been familiar to most persons for many years past, ever since the publication of Humboldt's work at least. Nor shall I now descant upon the merits or demerits of the clerical brotherhood in Mexico as a class; I have already said more on this head than will perhaps prove agreeable to all. Still less inclined am I to discuss the question whether these saintly Aristocrats were entitled to monopolise all the fiscal benefits of a Revolution which they had not assisted in bringing about, and, on the contrary, had struggled to prevent with all their might. These points will be of course settled by different men according to their respective creeds and habits of thought. All that I deem it important at present to state, is, that the measure proposed by Zavala excited the utmost opposition, as was natural, among the whole Ecclesiastical tribe; and his free and fearless exposition of their disgusting profligacy and dangerous political principles filled them with uneasiness and alarm. They offered him at once a *gratification*, to use the Mexican phraseology, if he would desist from his labours as a Reformer upon this single point which so vitally affected their precious carnal interests

beastly, and so barbarous, so boastful, yet so unvalorous,—
able to comprehend and to appreciate all the majestic depth,
and fullness, and sublime inflexibility of genuine Anglo-

He laughed at the proposition of the ghostly fathers who had formed so erroneous a conception of his character. Nothing baffled, they returned to the charge, imagining that the sum proffered was not quite large enough to reach the estimate which he had formed of the value of his acquiescence. They doubled the amount, and agreed to pay him down, in counted gold, $800,000. They could afford to do it; they would save more than fifty millions by suffocating Zavala's bill. He grew tired of this solicitation; he indignantly denounced their attempt upon his honour, and ordered them from his presence. They retired astonished at what they considered his madness. But they did not despair yet of succeeding by other means. They thought of Santa Anna; they knew his pliant and accommodating nature; his pecuniary necessities; his influence as Chief Executive of the Nation. They had recourse to him without delay. Now Santa Anna had been, up to that blessed moment, the most ungodly and profane enemy of the Ecclesiastical household to be found in the whole Republic. Often and often had he threatened to pull the noses of all the Saints and Saintesses in the land, and to tear away the treasures of Zion from the hands of the anointed. He had been long notorious throughout the Republic for his malevolent scoffings and indecent ridicule over all the instances of sacerdotal mummery and superstitious pageantry. He was in fact a rank unbeliever, and did not care who knew it. But then the claims of Holy Church had never been presented to him backed by such *solid* arguments before; the mantle of Ecclesiastical *charity* had never seemed heretofore quite ample enough to embrace his own loved person in its sacred folds. Upon the first interview with the clerical delegates who waited upon him, his conscience was sensible of some sharp pangs of remorse to which he had been heretofore a stranger; the rattling of a few hundred thousand dollars of gold effected his spiritual regeneration in a twinkling. Thus did this second Constantine, upon the reception of a token emblazoned, like that of old, with the inscription "*In hoc signo vinces*," after a little coy hesitation, and such demurs only as might be of service in heightening the reward of his ultimate obedience, heroically resolve to shoulder the Ark of this new and most special covenant; and was not ashamed to celebrate his abandonment of a party, now grown sinful in his eyes, by marching, forthwith, in presence of thousands, in solemn and magnificent procession in honour of the mystical Virgin of Guadaloupe. Strange as it may seem to some, these are the genuine facts of the case; and thus were the energies of Zavala paralyzed by being forced to encounter suddenly the full power of the Executive, until now at least neutral. Thus were the hopes of this unparalle-

American virtue. Had the citizens of Texas been good Mexicans, it is probable that Cos would not have encountered much difficulty in procuring the surrender of Zavala,

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noble patriot blasted in an instant! Many of those who had heretofore acted with him, seeing which way the wind of governmental favour and patronage was blowing, would act with him no longer. It was evident that what had been done by Congress to retrench the wealth and curb the influence of the Priesthood, would soon be undone; and no hope of permanent Reform was left save that held forth by the possibility of effecting a new Revolution. Harassed, dispirited, almost heart-broken, Zavala agreed to accept a mission to France, tendered to him by Santa Anna, who was anxious to get him out of the Republic as soon as possible. But he had scarcely arrived at Paris before he learned that Santa Anna had violently dissolved the National Congress; upon receiving tidings of which, he resigned his commission as Minister, came across the Atlantic, and located himself upon his fine estate in Texas, where, he trusted, freedom might yet be realised by an unfortunate Patriot, amidst a people who knew how to prize their political rights, and dared to maintain them vigorously against all the power of an unprincipled Usurper.

It has been seen above, that Cos had, immediately on arriving upon the Texan border, striven to get Zavala into his clutches. Perhaps there is no transaction in the loathsome history of Santa Anna more revolting to a generous mind than the dark design plainly indicated herein against the life of a man, with whom he had been familiarly associated for years; at whose hands he had experienced a thousand kindnesses; a man whom he well knew to be more remarkable for accomplishments, for pure disinterestedness of soul, and for the most delicate sensibility of heart, then any native Mexican who had appeared to adorn the dark and ghastly annals of his unfortunate country. The hellish malevolence of the Tyrant is still more palpable when viewed in connection with what he had himself said of Zavala in a printed document a few years before—which was that "in the general opinion of his fellow-citizens, he and Zavala were the body, and General Guerrero the soul of Mexican liberty, which, without their protection, would cease to exist." But it must be acknowledged that since Zavala had been a citizen of Texas his course had been such as to supply a new provocative to Santa Anna's ferocity; for, on the seventh of August preceding the demand of his person, he had published an address to the citizens of his vicinage, in which he had very ably exposed the whole villany of Santa Anna's course, and encouraged his brother Texans to heroic resistance. The reader will peruse, I doubt not, the concluding portion of this address, as it certainly had much effect at the time in imparting method as well as efficiency to the operations of the Texans.

had the claims of this venerable man upon their kindness and esteem been tenfold stronger than those which proved sufficient to save him from an ignominious death; provided

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"Having made these preliminary remarks, I proceed to express my opinions respecting the *nominal* Mexican Republic.

"First. The regulating power in Mexico is the military. Certain generals, at the head of whom Santa Anna happens now to be placed, and who have under their control from fifteen to twenty thousand hireling soldiers, have destroyed the Federal Constitution, of which Gen. Santa Anna, in order to be promoted to the Presidency of the Republic, pretended to be the defender, when, with a show of patriotism, he alleged that it was attacked by General Bustamente.

"Second. The present situation of the Mexican nation is that of the greatest confusion and disorder, because all the constitutional authorities having ceased, their places have been supplied by military chiefs, who know no other law than that of the sword and of violence, by which they have put down the civil authorities. The consternation which this has produced among the Mexican citizens has reduced them to a momentary silence, and this silence the military chiefs of Mexico call tranquillity, peace, and order in the Republic.

"Third. To pass over the acts of usurpation committed by General Santa Anna, such as the dissolution of the Congress and Council—the unconstitutional and violent deposition of the Vice President, Farias—the extension of the powers given to the electors to reform the Constitution—the destruction of the civic militia—and others of equal magnitude, which in the United States of the North would be sufficient to convict the President of treason,—the final blow aimed at the institutions in the capital, on the 12th of June, the day on which was declared the destruction of all the State Legislatures, an act committed under the auspices and protection of the President Santa Anna, and of the Vice President Barragan, would of itself be sufficient to destroy all claims to obedience, which exist and which can only continue in virtue of the fundamental compacts.

"Fourth. While in the capital they were thus destroying the institutions, and issuing orders to the military commandants of the States, that others should be established, the latter published official notes, swearing in their usual manner, that they would sustain the Constitution and laws, and that their only object was to punish certain functionaries who had transgressed them, thus availing themselves of the power of destroying the Constitution under the pretext of punishing delinquents. This may be seen from the official notes of the Generals Cos and Ugartechea, in which they seize upon the inexplicable sale of lands as a pretext to justify the imprisonment of the Governor of this State, Viesca, proceeding immediately to put down the Legislature and other always, such a breach of the laws of social justice, and a violation so hideous of all the principles of generosity, would have been at all likely to propitiate offended majesty. Those who doubt on this subject have read the history of this degraded race with little profit; and could not even have heard of the recent occurrences at Saltillo; where Mexican Generals, who had solicited Anglo-American aid in support of the Federal cause, attempted most treacherously and basely to save themselves by giving up the whole of their confiding allies to savage butchery; a transaction which doubtless will, as it should, call down retributive vengeance upon these American Algerines, whose extermination may yet become necessary for the repose of this continent!!

The response which the Anglo-Americans could alone honourably give to the absurd demands of Cos, they promptly afforded. The nature of this response may be ascertained by reading the following circular, at this time issued by Colonel Austin.

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authorities of the State, with the exception of those only, established in San Felipe and Nacogdoches which were out of the reach of their power. To make up for this, General Cos thought proper to make these authorities dependent upon himself, thus making those of popular origin subservient to the military.

"Such is the actual relation in which Texas stands to the Mexican Republic. I might make conjectures as to the developement of this political labyrinth; but I propose to myself to speak only of facts.

"The fundamental compact having been dissolved, and all the guarantees of the civil and political rights of citizens having been destroyed, it is incontestable that all the States of the Confederation are left at liberty to act for themselves, and to provide for their security and preservation as circumstances may require. Coahuila and Texas formed a State of the Republic, and, as one part of it is occupied by an invading force, the free part of it should proceed to organize a power which would restore harmony, and establish order and uniformity in all the branches of the public administration, which would be a rallying point for the citizens, whose hearts now tremble for liberty! But as this power can be organized only by means of a Convention, which should represent the free will of the citizens of Texas, it is my opinion that this step should be taken, and I suggest the 15th day of October as a time sufficient to allow all the departments to send their representatives."

Circular from the Committee of Safety of the Jurisdiction of Austin to the Committees of Nacogdoches and San Augustin.

San Felipe de Austin, October 4, 1835.

War is declared against military despotism. Public opinion has proclaimed it with one united voice. The campaign has opened. The military at Bejar has advanced upon Gonzales. General Cos has arrived and threatens to overrun the country.

But one spirit, one common purpose, animates every one in this department, which is to take Bejar, and drive all the military out of Texas before the campaign closes.

There are about three hundred volunteers at Gonzales at this time, and there will be upwards of five hundred in a few days.

It is confidently believed in this quarter, that the people of the department of Nacogdoches will turn out, and join the ARMY OF THE PEOPLE, now in the field, and facing the enemy.

Arms and ammunition are needed; we have more men than guns. Could not some muskets be procured from the other side of the Sabine? This Committee will contribute, and is responsible that the people here will do the same, to pay a full proportion of the expense. This is all-important; a few wagon-loads of muskets and fixed ammunition would be of the utmost service at this time. Could not volunteers also be had from the United States? Our cause is one that merits the moral and physical aid of a free and magnanimous people; and those who now step forward, may confidently expect that Texas will reward their services.

That distinguished and virtuous patriot, Don Lorenzo de Zavala, formerly governor of the State of Mexico, and late minister to France, has just arrived from his residence on the San Jacinto, and is now here, at the house of the chairman of this Committee. He is a citizen of Texas, and enters fully and warmly into the cause of the people. He also approves very much of the position they have taken against military despotism, and of the circular of this committee of the 19th ult.

This Committee relies on you to forward copies of this communication to San Augustin and the other committees in that quarter, and also to send the enclosed papers* to some printer in the United States for publication, in order that the public may be generally informed of the present state of affairs in Texas.

An express has been sent to San Jacinto and Trinity. It would, however, be important for that committee to communicate with the people of Trinity, and of Bevil's Settlement, as it inspires confidence to know that the whole country is acting in union, and with one and the same spirit and purpose. This, as I before observed, is to take Bejar, and drive the military out of Texas before the campaign closes.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. F. Austin,

Chairman of Committee.

The following address from the Committee of Safety at San Felipe de Austin, will be found to supply numerous particulars, necessary to be known, in order to comprehend the attitude of Texan affairs at this crisis, and will be read, perhaps, with special curiosity on account of its being the last official act performed by Colonel Austin, before the regular commencement of the war. The attendant documents will be found not uninteresting:

Circular from the Committee of Safety of the Jurisdiction of Austin.

All are aware of the present movements of volunteers towards the western frontiers. For the information of every one, this Committee deem it proper to state, as briefly as possible, the leading facts which have given rise to this excitement.

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* Circulars of this Committee, of the 19th ult. and 3d inst. and public proceedings of other Committees.

When the circular of this Committee, under date of the 19th ult. was issued, information of an unquestionable character had been received here, as to the marching of soldiers from Bejar, in some short period, within the limits of the colonies. The object appeared to be the apprehension of certain citizens, among whom Don Lorenzo de Zavala, now a citizen of Texas, was particularly designated and aimed at. This gentleman had come to Texas, as to an asylum from the persecution of the present administration of Mexico. His offence we know not, except that he is the known friend of free institutions. This distinguished man, the authorities of Texas have been arbitrarily required by a military mandate to surrender into the hands of General Cos, who, in his zeal to secure the person of this patriotic and virtuous citizen, actually issued an order some time since, addressed to Colonel Ugartechea, Commandant at Bexar, to march into the colonies and *take him*, at the risk of losing all the force he should employ. The mere intimation of such an order would be an evident disrespect to the citizens of Texas; but the issuing of it, with the corresponding threats of Colonel Ugartechea of putting it into execution, is at once an open outrage upon the civil authorities of Texas, and upon the Constitution. But what is of most importance, such proceedings serve plainly to show us all, what *kind of government* the present reformers in Mexico are aiming to subject us to—which is the *government of the bayonet*, and the regulation of all the affairs of Texas by military power, regardless of the Constitution, of the civil authority, and of all the legally vested, equitable, and natural rights of the people of Texas.

That such is the real and ultimate object of the military power now reigning in Mexico, and that the reasons assigned for the present hostile movements are nothing but mere pretexts to cover the main objects, and thus fill the country with troops, is clear and evident; but should there still remain doubts on the mind of any person, let him weigh and maturely consider the following acts, and draw his own conclusions.

The Constitutional Governor of this State, Viesca, and also another Governor, Falcon, who had been constitutionally installed to succeed Viesca, have been deposed by the military at Monclova. The State authorities were imprisoned, and a Governor appointed by the acting President of the general government of Mexico. This is evidently an act of military usurpation and despotism, and the State of Coahuila and Texas is at this time without any constitutional or legal government at all, and the people of every part of the State, and those of Texas in particular, are left at full liberty to provide for themselves as they may deem best.

But a more general, though succinct view of matters, is necessary for a full and proper understanding of this subject.

A disastrous and ruinous civil war was kindled in 1832, by means of an insurrection against the Bustamente administration, and General Santa Anna was placed at its head. The avowed object of this insurrection was to *protect the federal system, and sustain the Constitution of* 1824, which, it was *then* alleged, was attacked and endangered by the measures and projects of the Bustamente administration. On this principle the people of Texas supported General Santa Anna to defend the Constitution of 1824, and the federal system. This general was enthusiastically supported by every liberal and free Mexican, and by the friends of the federal system in every part of the nation. With this support he triumphed. He became the man of the people—the protector of the federal system—the oracle of public opinion—the arbiter of the nation's political destinies. How has he used this power, *thus acquired?* Let the miliary despotism now enthroned in Mexico upon the ruins of the federal system—let the friends of this system, who are now groaning in prisons or wandering in exile—let the Constitution of 1824, which still raises its dying voice from beneath the feet of military usurpation—let the free and impartial in Mexico and in the whole civilized world give the reply. They all say, he used it to *destroy* what he avowed he had taken up arms to protect; he used the federal party as blind instruments to destroy the federal system; he abandoned his federal friends who had given him power, and united with the military, ecclesiastical and *central* party, against whom he took up arms in 1832. This same party is now governing in Mexico, and they say to the people of Texas, in the language of friendship and persuasion—in that of *sugar-plums and honey*, that in the new Constitution, or central government that is organizing in Mexico, guarantees shall be given to the people of Texas, their rights shall be protected and secured, and they are told that the government expects from their "docility" a *submission to all the reforms and alterations that may be agreed to by the majority of the nation.* [See the official letter of the Minister of Relations, a translation of which is published at the end of this paper, numbered 1.] But who compose, and what is the majority of the nation spoken of by the minister, and how are these reforms to be effected? It is composed of the same military power before spoken of, who have assumed the voice of the nation, and have suppressed, by military influence, the free expression of public opinion; and the reforms are to be effected by *unconstitutional means*; a sufficient proof of which is, that the present Congress in Mexico, which was elected by constitutional powers alone, have, by their own act, declared themselves to be invested with the powers of a national convention, to frame a new constitution, or reform that of 1824 as they think proper.

What is here meant by "*reforming*" the Constitution of

1824, may be clearly deduced by the "reform" of the militia made by this same general Congress. This "reform" reduced the militia of the States to *one militia-man* for every five hundred inhabitants, and disarmed all the rest. The people of Zacatecas resisted this iniquitous law, but were unfortunate, and compelled, for the time being, to submit to the military power of the reformers: so that, in fact, "reform" means destruction.

From this condensed view of the past, let every impartial man judge for himself what degree of faith or credit ought to be given to the professions of the present government of Mexico, and ask himself whether a subtle poison may not be concealed in the *sugar-plums*, or a sting in the honey that is now offered to the "docile" people of Texas.

But, in addition to this general view of matters, information of the most positive and unquestionable character is in the possession of this Committee, that every possible effort is making by the government in Mexico to raise troops, money, and resources to fit out an expedition—*an army of invasion* against Texas. Infantry, artillery, and cavalry, have been ordered from San Luis Potosi, Saltillo, and Tamaulipas; and all the disposable infantry at Campeche has also been ordered on to Texas by water, as it was supposed they would stand the climate better than other troops. Magazines of arms and ammunition are forming at Matamoras, Goliad, and Bexar, and the old barracks and fortifications at the latter place are repairing to receive a large force. In short, the common talk all over Mexico among the military, is the *invasion* of Texas.

Now, if the present government of Mexico is sincere in its professions of liberal guarantees for Texas, why all this preparation for a military invasion? Why has General Cos marched with all the disposable force at Matamoras (about four hundred men) to Bexar, where he now is, according to last accounts? Can it be that the government, in its fatherly care for Texas, fears that there are servile slaves in this country, who will oppose liberal *guarantees?* Or is it that the promised guarantees are only a cover and a false show, to quiet Texas until the general government is prepared to give to it a military government?

It is well known to all that the reforms spoken of by the minister, and now being made in Mexico, contemplate the abolition of the whole federal system, the establishment of a central or consolidated government, which is to absorb and swallow up all the powers and authorities of the nation: military commandancies will supply the place of the state governments, and the vested rights of Texas under the Constitution and law of May 7, 1824, are to be disregarded and violated.

Ought, or can, or will the people of Texas submit to all this? Let each man study the subject, and answer for himself. If he will submit, let him go to the military power and prostrate himself. If he will not submit, let him give his answer from the mouth of his rifle!

In regard to the present movements of the military, the letter from Gonzales, and extracts from other letters of unquestionable faith, [numbered 2,] will inform the public. By these letters the people of Texas are informed that their fellow-citizens at Gonzales *have been attacked—the war has commenced!* They will also perceive that General Cos has arrived with a reinforcement of troops, and is preparing for a campaign of extermination against the people of Texas.

The head quarters of THE ARMY OF THE PEOPLE for the present is at Gonzales. It is already respectable in numbers, and invincible in spirit.

This Committee exhorts every citizen who is yet at home, to march as soon as possible to the assistance of his countrymen now in the field. The campaign is opened. Texas must be freed from military despots before it is closed.

S. F. AUSTIN,

Chairman of the Committee of the Jurisdiction of Austin.

San Felipe de Austin, October 3, 1835.

[NO. 1.]

Extract of an official letter from the Minister of Interior Relations of Mexico, to the Municipality of Gonzales.

"When the general Congress takes into consideration the reforms of the Constitution which have been requested unanimously by almost all the towns of the Republic, that august assembly will bear in mind the wants of the inhabitants of Texas, for the purpose of providing a remedy; and the government will very cheerfully co-operate in that object, by making the propositions which may most conduce to so laudable an end, reckoning always on the good sense and docility of the colonists, who, on adopting this for their country, subjected themselves to the alterations that, respecting the institutions, the majority of the nation may think fit to agree upon; which disposition the government is decided on supporting in fulfilment of its duty, as it is, also, of protecting all the inhabitants of the Republic, lovers of order, and of punishing those who foment sedition.

[Signed] "BONILLA."

Dated Mexico, August 5, 1835.

[NO. 2.]

"Gonzales, September 30, 1835.

Fellow-Citizens of San Felipe and La Baca:—A detachment of the Mexican forces from Bejar, amounting to about one hundred and fifty men, are encamped opposite us: we expect an attack momentarily. Yesterday we were but eighteen strong, to-day one hundred and fifty, and forces continually arriving. We wish all the aid, and despatch, that is possible to give us, that we may take up soon our line of march for Bejar, and drive from our country all the Mexican forces. Give us all the *aid and despatch* that is possible. Respectfully, yours,

Captain ALBERT MARTIN,
" R. M. COLEMAN,
" J. H. MOORE.

Extracts from a letter, written by a gentleman of unquestionable veracity, dated La Baca, October 1, 1835.

"The Alcalde of Goliad was struck or whipped in the street by an officer, for not being able to get the carts ready as soon as he wanted them, to transport the arms, &c. to Bexar. A Mexican from Victoria was also insulted, as being one of the *valientes* of Guadalupe; the soldiers saying that it would be only a short time until they visited us, and helped themselves to what cash and other things we had. The new officers who came with the arms, said that, as soon as General Cos should reach Bexar, it would be the signal of march for San Felipe de Austin.

"Cos is about to pass on to Bejar. He has a guard of thirty men with him, and the Morelos battalion of lancers is close at his heels. Cos has about $60,000 in specie, for the purpose of paying off the troops. He informed the Alcalde of the Nueces, that he intended to overrun Texas, and establish custom-houses and detachments of his army where he thought fit."

A letter from Bejar says: "The people must either submit, or prepare for defence; as the intention is to march into the colonies, and regulate the land affairs, and a great many things, by military force; also, to clear the country of what they choose to call vagrants, &c."

Information which is relied on, has been received from the interior, that the States of Zacatecas and Guadalaxara have risen and taken up arms in defence of the Constitution of 1824, and in support of the federal system: also, that there are insurrections in the State of Tamaulipas, in favour of the same cause: also, that the republican general, Juan Alvarez, has gained a victory over the government troops in the south of Mexico.

All these, and all the freemen of Mexico, are now fighting for the same cause that the people of Texas are defending. It is the cause of freedom—it is holy and just, and must triumph.

CHAPTER IV.

Introductory remarks. Curious coincidences between the Revolution of 1776, in the United States, and that of Texas in 1835. Commencement of the war by the battle of Gonzales. Capture of Goliad; and general progress of civil and military affairs up to the appointment of General Austin as Commissioner to the United States.

On the 17th day of June, in the year 1825, a vast concourse of Anglo-American patriots assembled in the neighbourhood of the time-honoured City of Boston, to witness a pageant of most imposing grandeur. The venerable La Fayette was to lay the corner-stone of a monument, designed to be erected in honour of the heroes who had fallen, a half century before, in the battle of Bunker Hill; and the first orator of New England, if not of the Republic, was to deliver an address suited to so solemn and touching an occasion. As was to be expected, the whole transaction was marked with order and dignity; and the speech of Mr. Webster was altogether worthy of his high reputation. Towards the close of that speech, he thus expressed himself: "*We can win no laurels in a war for Independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon and Alfred, and other founders of States. Our fathers have filled them.*" So thought New England's gifted son at that period; so doubtless thought the rapturously admiring crowd who listened to him; and yet events have subsequently occurred, which might well persuade even Mr. Webster himself to qualify somewhat his quoted phraseology. The prophetic language indulged by the same distinguished personage, five years earlier, in celebration of the first landing of the Pilgrims, is certainly far more in unison with the present expectations of many—when he said: "*Ere long, the sons of the Pilgrims will be on the shores of the Pacific;*" and the prediction which he then uttered—but whose fulfilment be postponed for a whole century—I am glad to know, is already well-nigh realized: in ten years, the orator of Bunker Hill, if his life shall be continued so long, will, in all probability, hear those sounds which he anticipated for the year 1920; and he will be gladdened, in common with all his countrymen, by what he described, about twenty years since, as "a voice of acclamation and gratitude, commencing on the rock at Plymouth, and transmitted through millions of the sons of the Pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific seas." Worthy members of the same great Anglo-American family, a portion of whom Mr. Webster addressed in 1825, could now truthfully announce to him: "We have won laurels, in a war for Independence, as bright and as unfading as those which enwreathed the brows of our fathers; and though, in the general estimation of mankind, our merits may not yet be so firmly established, as to authorise us to challenge seats by the side of Solon and Alfred; yet is it true that we have become the founders of a new Empire of *Constitutional freedom*, in the far South-west. We have dared to go forth as the Pioneers of Knowledge, and Virtue, and Liberty, into those gloomy regions where, till our advent, nought was anywhere to be heard, save the howling of the wild beasts of Superstition, and Ignorance, and Slavery—

'Like stabled wolves, or tigers, at their prey,
Doing abhorred rites to Hecate,
In their obscured haunts of inmost bowers.'

We have fearlessly advanced even to the very precincts of that infernal hall, where the dark 'Necromancer' of unleavened Catholicism—that real *Comus*—lately sat enthroned in unquestioned dominion; who, 'skilled in witcheries,'

'By sly enticement gave his baneful cup,
With many murmurs mixed, whose pleasing poison
The visage quite transforms of him who drinks,
And the inglorious likeness of a beast
Fixes instead, unmoulding Reason's mintage,
Charactered in the face.'

With the 'brandished blade' of *Reform* upraised against the hideous monster, we have rushed upon him, 'broken his glass,' seized and reversed his enchanting rod and driven him to ignominious flight, though

> 'He, and his accursed crew,
> Fierce sign of battle made, and menace high,
> And, like the sons of Vulcan, vomited smoke.'

"All this we have done, not for ourselves alone, but for the age in which we live, for the glory of the race to which we belong, and in humble imitation of the sublime example of our ancestors. *Pronounce now*, O magnanimous Son of the Pilgrims, dost thou regard us as wholly unworthy to rank with the illustrious heroes and sages, of whose virtues thou hast so often spoken in terms of graceful commendation?" But the Anglo-Americans in Texas could go yet farther, and, with all proper respect for the magnificent achievements of their ancestors, address to Mr. Webster a courteous appeal, in which they should exclaim: "Behold *our Lexington* in the battle of Gonzales, where the first blood was shed in our War for Independence, in a struggle of arms brought on, by a singular coincidence, like that of old, by a dispute relative to the possession of certain *ordnance!* Behold *our Bunker Hill* in the battle of Concepcion; where a victory was obtained by our Bowie and our Fanning, of which Prescott and Warren might have been justly proud. In the siege of San Antonio de Bexar, seest thou not a lively image of Boston encompassed by colonial troops in 1775; whilst Gage and his mercenary legions triumphed over the freedom-loving multitude within? Suffer us, honoured Sir, to introduce to your indignant notice, that smut-visaged potentate, recently sent among us to execute the mandates of a tyrant—the *blood-stained Cos:* resembleth he not, in his bearing and moral attributes, the British Commander at Boston in 1775? When thou hearest the Mexican chieftain demanding the surrender of those fearless and unspotted patriots, *Milam* and *Zavala*,* does not Gage's noted requisition of Samuel Adams and John Hancock rise upon thy memory? But if thou wilt but deign to examine the British and Mexican commanders alluded to, more narrowly, a mind so acute as thy own can scarcely fail to discover that they are still more remarkably assimilated in their *fates*, than in their characteristics or conduct; for each of them was forced in the end to evacuate the city which had been made the centre of his despotic operations—though at the head of a body of regular troops, and amply stocked with all the munitions of war—by a patriotic band of undisciplined volunteers, who were in want of everything necessary to the systematic prosecution of hostile measures, save their own lion-hearted and persevering valour. See too! we are not without *our* 'first great Martyr in *our* great cause,' and for *Warren* we proudly point to *Milam*, and delineate him also as 'the premature victim to his own self-devoting heart; cut off by Providence, in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom, falling ere he saw *the star* of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage.' And exultingly can we assert of our Hero of the Alamo, what one, whom thou knowest well, has declared in relation to the famed Hero of Bunker Hill: 'Wherever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and Liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.' Besides all this, examine the *issue* of our War for Independence; scrutinize the civil institutions we have established; survey the spectacle of political freedom and social happiness which we have caused to be presented to the view of mankind; listen to the accents of our *National* recognition breaking forth from the capital of almost every civilized nation of the old world; and then tell us—tell the friends of Republican freedom everywhere—inform the inevitable curiosity of coming generations—does not thy own great soul groan with self-censuring tribulation, that thou didst refuse, four years since, to welcome us to the family of nations; albeit, some of thy brother Senators uttered invocations in our behalf which might almost have raised the patriots of '76 from their graves, to mingle in the sublime chorus of gratulation over the wondrous rescue of us, their descendants, from the yoke of a slavery far more galling and oppressive than that which themselves were fated to endure?" I could easily imagine Mr. Webster to respond to such an appeal, from the high ministerial station which he has now just assumed, in his own felicitous language, a few years since, in reference to Greece: "Let Texas, too, be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope of her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil freedom be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out, and flame up to heaven."

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* The original demand of Cos, under the direction of Santa Anna, included Zavala, Milam, and several others. But when he reached San Antonio (de Bexar), Milam's name was not mentioned in the requisition which he then issued. It had become unnecessary, for Milam had been already apprehended, and was then lying incarcerated in a dungeon at Monterey, as will presently appear more particularly.

Let us now proceed, coolly and in detail, to note the various movements of the ball of revolution, which in the autumn of 1835, was visibly rolling onward in Texas, and endeavour, upon the testimony of undeniable transactions, to determine whether the Texans, at this period of their history as a people, really did prove themselves in all respects worthy of the high commendations which have been bestowed upon them in advance.

The first of October was fated to become a day of peculiar dignity in Texan annals; on that day, the first battle was fought at Gonzales, in support of *State* sovereignty, against the despotic power of Santa Anna. The particulars of this interesting affair I will not undertake to recite; finding the task performed in a manner altogether satisfactory, in the letter inserted below. Those who are really curious about "Texas and the Texans," will not regret that every convenient opportunity is embraced by the author, of bringing forward the *actors* in the bustling scenes about to be recorded, to narrate transactions in which they bore part, and must therefore have witnessed in person.

The epistle which follows, presents the most circumstantial and accurate statement of the encounter which it describes, that I have been able to procure, and will be introduced without farther remark, except a single one, in reference to the geographical position of Gonzales. This village is situated on the eastern bank of the Guadaloupe river, just at the point of its junction with the San Marcos, and is about eighty miles east of San Antonio de Bexar.

Letter from Gonzales, giving an account of the action which took place there on the 1st of October.

Sir,—Agreeably to request before I left San Felipe, I proceed to give you all the information I have been able to gather. I unfortunnately arrived after the battle on the opposite side of the river with the Mexicans had taken place. The Mexicans, to the number of two hundred, *all mounted*, arrived on the bank of the river, opposite to this place, on Tuesday. They sent a despatch from Colonel Ugartachea, and one from the Political Chief of Bejar, to demand the cannon which the citizens of this place were in possession of; and also, a communication from the commander of the troop, requesting a conference with the commander of our forces. At that time, the actual force of this place consisted of only eighteen men, commanded by captain Albert Martin. To obtain time, the captain informed them that the alcalde was absent, but would be in town in the evening. The captain of the Mexicans then removed his troops, and took up a position about half a mile from the ferry, out in the prairie. The next day, our force had augmented to about one hundred men from the Colorado and Brazos. One or two feints were made by the Mexicans during the day at the ford, half a mile below, and at the ferry, but finding themselves likely to be opposed vigorously, they retired, and took possession of the mound about three hundred yards from the ford, where they encamped for the night. In the meantime our troops were arriving hourly, and on Friday an attack was determined on, and carried into execution in the following manner:—Our numbers had increased to one hundred and sixty-eight men, and in an election for field officers, the lot fell on John H. Moore, as Colonel, and J. W. E. Wallace as Lieutenant-Colonel. About seven o'clock on Thursday evening, our troops crossed the river; the horse to the amount of fifty, and the infantry at the ferry, together with the cannon, (one brass six pounder) tolerably well mounted. The Lieutenant-Colonel then formed the line of march, placing the cavalry in advance of the cannon, two companies of flankers, and two open columns on each side, with a company of infantry in the rear. The whole march was conducted with the greatest order and silence; and when arrived at the point intended to be occupied, one of the advanced guard was fired on by the picket guard, and slightly wounded in the nose. This alarmed the whole Mexican troop, who were soon formed, and our own men were placed also in order of battle; the two columns deploying into line on the right and left, the cannon in the centre, and the cavalry occupying the extreme right. The enemy then left the position which had been occupied by them during the night, and formed in order of battle on a high mound, This movement took place about four o'clock on the morning of Friday during the prevalence of a very thick fog, which enabled the enemy to effect it unobserved. Our position had been taken in the vicinity of a skirt of timber, and our troops remained under cover of it until the exact position of the Mexicans was ascertained, which did not take place until daylight. Our troops then advanced in order of battle, under cover of the fog, into the open prairie, to within about three hundred and fifty yards of the enemy. Our scouts in advance having discharged their rifles, came into the main body, having been followed nearly in by a small troop of Mexicans. We immediately opened our cannon upon them, and the whole body retired precipitately and took possession of their old position, about three to four hundred yards distant. Our troops then moved on in good order, and placed themselves in a corn-field, the late occupied ground of the enemy, where we found some few horses and some baggage that had been left. The fence was then levelled opposite our cannon. A parley was then sounded by the Mexican commander, and a Mr. Smithers, who had been taken prisoner by the Mexicans on his way from Bejar to Gonzales, arrived and informed Colonel Moore that the Mexican commander desired a conference, which was agreed to, but in the meantime we posted to get possession of Williams' plantation, houses, &c., which we occupied. At this time the fog had entirely dissipated, and presented both armies fairly in view of each other, about three hundred and fifty yards distant. The commanders of both armies then advanced to the centre, our's accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, and the Mexican by one of his officers. The Mexican commander, Castonado, then demanded the cause of our troops attacking him, and the reply by Colonel Wallace was, that he had been ordered to demand our cannon, and had threatened, in case of a refusal, to take it by *force*; that this cannon had been presented to the citizens of Gonzales for the defence of the *Constitution*, by the constitutional authorities, under the confederation, and that none but constitutional authorities should be obeyed; that he (the Mexican commander) was acting under the orders of Santa Anna, who had broken down all the *State* and *Federal* constitutions, except that of Texas; and we would fight for our rights under that until the last gasp. Castonado then replied that he was himself a republican, and two-thirds of the Mexican nation were such, and that he was still an officer of the federal government, although that government had undergone considerable changes; that the majority of the States having decided upon that change, we, the people of Texas, were bound to submit to it; that he did not want to fight the Anglo-Americans of Texas; that his orders from Ugartachea were simply to *demand the cannon*, and if refused, to take up a position in the vicinity of Gonzales until further orders. Colonel Moore then demanded him to surrender or join our side, and he would be received with open arms, and retain his rank, pay and emoluments, or to fight him instantly, that there were his troops, he might see them in full array. The commander said he was obliged to obey his orders, and the conference then broke up, and each officer retired to their respective armies. Colonel Wallace immediately ordered the cannon to fire on them, and our troops advanced in double quick time, and perfect order, and when within about three hundred yards, the cannon still playing away upon them, the Mexicans fled, and continued to fly until entirely out of sight, on the road to San Antonio. It is believed that one or two Mexicans were wounded or killed by the advanced guard at the first onset, and a very considerable number killed and wounded by the discharge of the cannon. Our troops have taken possession of the field, and being without horses, except fifty which were left on the bank of the river, collected whatever baggage, &c. was left behind by the Mexicans, and marched in good order and high spirits, without losing a man, to Gonzales, where they arrived about two o'clock P. M. yesterday. It appears that Castonado, when attacked on Friday morning, was waiting for a reinforcement, and further orders, and by the information received that night from San Antonio, Ugartachea has determined to put all his disposable force in motion, and is determined to take a sufficient number to effect his purpose. The reason assigned by Castenado for flying without giving battle, was that we had cannon, and he had none; but that when he should receive a reinforcement, Colonel Ugartachea would bring on cannon sufficient to burn and reduce the whole town to ashes. We therefore look for another attack soon, in considerable force, and if our troops arrive soon enough, they will enable us to repel the attack successfully, and even, if thought politic, to take up the line of march immediately for San Antonio. We have positive information that can be relied on, that there are only five hundred men in San Antonio, and two cannon mounted; about two hundred of them are convicts, with ball and chain, for having attempted to desert; and at least one hundred must remain to keep down the citizens, who it appears are strongly opposed to centralism. It is highly important that we should be strongly reinforced; we shall probably have, in two or three days, about from three hundred to three hundred and fifty men, and if we had about five hundred men, we could, without fear of defeat, take San Antonio, Labahia, and in fact drive the enemy entirely out of Texas. It is also ascertained that Cos has not arrived with troops at the Copano; now, then, is the "appointed time." Let our citizens come on, the spirit is up among us, and victory and Independence certain. San Antonio once taken and garrisoned by our own troops, no hostile Mexican would dare to put his foot in Texas. We hope and trust that our citizens are now of one mind as to the intentions of Santa Anna. "The *other* States have submitted," and the people of Texas *must* embrace centralism, —So says their commander. *We object to the premises, and of course, to the conclusion.*

We are well supplied with beef and bread, and corn for our horses. We have a grist mill, which has been repaired by our men, and we are now in abundance. We shall grind plenty of meal in advance, for those that are coming. In fine, the Anglo-American spirit appears in every thing we do; quick, intelligent, and comprehensive; and while such men are fighting for their rights, they may possibly be overpowered by numbers, but, *if whipped, they won't stay whipped.*

DAVID B. MACOMB.

Intelligence relative to the affair at Gonzales, was received in a day or two at San Felipe de Austin; and the Committee of Safety at that place, lost no time in transmitting it to all the principal points in Texas. In five days, the whole Anglo-American population seemed roused to energetic action; all now perceived that the *Rubicon was passed*; that there was no possibility of avoiding war with Mexico, even if any were mean enough to desire it; and volunteers might be seen, every hour, passing rapidly along the different roads, in squads of five, ten, or even twenty in number, rushing to unite with their brethren who had stricken the first blows for Liberty on the Guadaloupe.

Colonel Austin was yet in San Felipe de Austin, on the fourth day of October, when several individuals arrived at his residence who afterwards became distinguished in the war of Independence. Among these was the venerable Zavala, who had left his own home immediately on hearing that a struggle for freedom had commenced in good earnest, and was now ready to perform any duty which might be allotted to him in the impending contest. Much consultation took place about this period, both at San Felipe de Austin, and among the volunteers at Gonzales, as to the plan of operations best to be adopted for the defence of Texas against Mexican hostility, and it is quite a remarkable fact, that all seemed to concur as to the measures necessary to be immediately put in execution. What these measures were, will presently appear, but first a few preliminary observations will be hazarded.

There are two points on the western frontier of what in 1836 was considered Texas, which may be well called *the Keys* of the country:—San Antonio de Bexar, and Goliad, or Labahia; for *these* being in possession of an enemy, it is obvious that those vast plains, so remarkable for their fertility, which are watered by the San Antonio, the Guadaloupe, the Labaca, the Navidad, the Colorado, the San Bernard, and the Brassos, would be left completely open to that enemy's incursions. Now the region just alluded to was, is, and must ever be, *the heart of Texas*, embracing within its limits all, or nearly all, of the more productive soil of the country, and peopled in 1835 with a numerous body of industrious, wealthy, and enterprising cultivators of the earth. Nothing could be therefore more important, than to secure its entire safety. Both San Antonio de Bexar and Goliad were, at the period now under review, strongly fortified places, and were moreover occupied by Mexican garrisons. Goliad, it will be recollected, had, as early as 1812, attracted the attention of General Wilkinson, whose remarks in reference to it will be found in another chapter. It is distant from Copano, or the head of Aransas Bay, only fifteen leagues, and the interjacent surface between these two positions is exceedingly level;—being in fact a continued succession of prairies without a foot of swamp anywhere to be found; so as to render travelling, or the transportation of commodities of any kind, in the highest degree convenient. The Aransas Bay is at all times navigable for vessels of light burthen, and is well known to have a uniform depth of nine feet water over the bar at its mouth. Copano was famous as a commercial entrepôt among the Spaniards, more than fifty years ago, and has been at one time a place of deposit for immense quantities of merchandise for the supply of the Mexican population to the West and North-West, who are unfortunately destitute of any maritime emporium. The extreme North-Western point of the Bay of Espiritu Santo, (called by General Wilkinson "the old landing-place of La Salle") lies East of Copano, and is perhaps a little nearer to Goliad than the last-mentioned place;—a fact of no little importance, if what General Wilkinson asserts be true: viz., "that five fathom water may be carried into the Bay." It cannot be more than eighteen leagues from Goliad to the head of what is now known as Labaca Bay; where the commercial village of Linnville stood, till destroyed by the Camanches during the past Summer. It is plain that General Wilkinson did not err in the conclusion to which he came, that this particular portion of the Texan coast offers greater facilities than any other for maintaining a trafficking intercourse with the inhabitants of Western Texas, and, through them, with the neighbouring Mexican States, or for the introduction of an invading force by maritime means. Now Goliad is located on the South-Western bank of the San Antonio river, which is here running in a direction nearly due South-East; and contains a fort of particularly strong construction, whose thick walls of stone and lime are capable of withstanding any assaults, save such as might be made by the action of heavy artillery. This fort is built upon the apex of a lofty and precipitous hill whose base is of solid rock. The North-Eastern side is covered by the San Antonio river. To the South-West, extends an elevated expanse of open prairie. A deep ravine runs along the third side, whilst a scope of prairie, much depressed below the surrounding surface, skirts the side opposite the ravine just mentioned. It would not do perhaps to compare Goliad to the famous Ehrenbreitstein, or to speak of

> "What she was, when shell and ball,
> Rebounding idly, on her strength did light."

And yet when Magee was master of this fortress, in 1812, and it was besieged by a force more than five times as large as his own, he made it, emphatically,

"A tower of victory! from whence the flight
Of baffled foes was watched along the plain."

If, in the contemplated war, the Mexicans were allowed to retain possession of Goliad, it was evident that they would have it in their power, at any time, to land an army at Copano, and overrun the whole region for several hundred miles round, at pleasure. Stores of every description could be brought in at the same point, so as to give maintenance to a large military force, whilst a war of devastation should be making its terrible progress. And such is now well known to have been the original plan of Santa Anna, which he was prevented from executing by certain judicious movements presently to be noticed. On the other hand, if the Texans could manage to throw themselves into Goliad, with a competent force, the dangers just specified would be effectually obviated; and, in addition, a safe and commodious inlet would be secured to them for the reception of men, munitions of war, or provisions from the United States. So much of Goliad separately; but to understand its full importance as a military post, it is necessary to take a view of it in connection with San Antonio de Bexar. This town may be described as situated amidst the head-waters of the San Antonio river, near the margin of the mountainous region to the North. About thirty leagues of gently undulating country, separate the famed Alamo from her sister fortress of the South. The town of San Antonio is, like Goliad, dependent upon the Bay of Aransas, and the neighbouring Bays already described, for commercial stores of every kind; or rather it is dependent upon those Bays, through Goliad. The region both to the North and West of San Antonio is notoriously not such as to be relied on for supplies necessary to the endurance of a siege of long continuance; and Cos found in the autumn of 1835, to his entire satisfaction, that a large army might be soon reduced to famine in San Antonio by a besieging army of greatly inferior numbers, provided Goliad should be held in firm possession by the adverse force.

All the world knows the thousand impediments which lie in the way of throwing an armed force of any size into Texas, from Mexico, along any inland route yet ascertained. I shall, therefore, not tax the patience of the reader, by speaking

> Of antres vast, and deserts wild,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven.

It is only necessary to state, that such an army would have necessarily to pass along the great road leading from *Presidio Rio Grande*, called the *Presidio road*, which terminates at San Antonio de Bexar; or crossing the river Rio Grande, lower down, at a place called *Laredo*, would afterwards have to enter Texas, either by following an indifferent and circuitous route along the coast, and *debouching* upon Goliad, or come into it at a point nearly midway between the two fortresses described. In any of these cases, or in the event of such a division of the invading force as that lately practised by Santa Anna, provided Goliad and San Antonio de Bexar should be occupied by Anglo-American garrisons, numbering together one thousand or fifteen hundred soldiers, with suitable means of defence, it is obvious that twenty thousand such soldiers as Santa Anna brought with him to Texas, would not be able to do the country any serious injury, and would be inevitably constrained to retire in a few weeks. At any rate, the fury and violence of the war would be easily kept, by the means suggested, in the neighbourhood of the Texan frontier, if not entirely beyond the San Antonio river; for it could scarcely be expected, that even a commander so reckless as Santa Anna had sometimes proved himself, would be willing to venture far into the interior of the country, whilst two strong fortresses remained unsubdued in his rear.

Such were the views which appeared, simultaneously, to strike all minds in Texas, early in the month of October, 1835; and it is therefore not at all surprising that a strong inclination should have been generally evinced to seize upon

Goliad and San Antonio de Bexar, at once, without waiting for the grand army of Santa Anna, which was expected to come on early in the ensuing spring, if not earlier. All were alike solicitous to save, by prompt action, the towns, villages, and plantations of Texas from the horrible vengeance of the insatiate Spoiler.

Ten days had not elapsed, after the battle of Gonzales, before the volunteers at that place found their strength sufficiently increased to authorize offensive operations. Upwards of five hundred valiant Anglo-Americans stood ready to march against the enemies of freedom, and drive them without delay beyond the Rio Grande. Few of all this five hundred had not seen service before; and it may be safely asserted, that a majority of their whole body were entirely equal to the duties of command. Nor will this seem at all incredible, when I mention some of those who now came prepared to serve as common soldiers in the ranks, and aspired to no authority save such as their companions in arms might call them to assume. The *rank and file* return of Adjutant B. F. Smith, under date of the thirtieth of October, contains many names which have become "familiar as household words" to the admirers of heroism, on both sides of the Atlantic,—such as *Austin, Archer, Fanning, Travis, Rusk, Bowie, Moore, Caldwell, Neil, Grayson, Hall, Carnes,*—and many others of equal merit, a list of whom would itself overspread a whole page of such a work as the present. It was not before the eleventh of October, that the army was completely organized; nor was it possible to take up the line of march for San Antonio de Bexar, (whose capture had been unanimously resolved on) earlier that the thirteenth of the same month. Colonel Austin was chosen commander-in-chief, and employed himself actively in getting every thing in readiness for the momentous expedition in contemplation.

In the mean time, intelligence was received in camp, that a body of Mexicans had been committing some acts of viohance of Victoria, a beautiful town on the Guadaloupe, some distance below; and a company of eighty volunteers was despatched thither, for the purpose of checking them in their course of aggression. Col. Benjamin F. Smith,* a gentleman altogether worthy of the trust, accompanied by Captain Alley, was placed in command of this detachment. This officer set out from Gonzales, on the evening of the 9th of October, and, dashing rapidly forward to Victoria,

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* I gladly seize the opportunity of rendering a slight tribute of respect to an ancient and highly esteemed personal friend of my own, by laying before the reader a few of the leading particulars of Col. Smith's eventful history. Col. Benjamin F. Smith is a native of Kentucky, but removed with his venerable father, of revolutionary renown, (the late Major David Smith,) to the State of Mississippi. The family settled in the county of Hinds, where I now write, when it was an unbroken wilderness, having been but recently purchased from the Choctaw Indians. The old gentleman lived to be more than fourscore years of age, and died some five years since, enjoying in a peculiar manner, the confidence, respect, and affection of all who knew him. His eldest son, who is now the special subject of remark, was the first representative of the county of Hinds, in the Legislature of Mississippi, and was a respectable and useful member of that body. He was subsequently appointed by General Jackson, when President of the United States, to the office of Agent among the Chickasaw Indians; a place of great and delicate responsibility. It was whilst he acted in this capacity, fifteen years since, that my own acquaintance was formed with him. I will not say anything in commendation of Col. Smith myself; simply because his deserts stand avouched in the following letters placed in my hands, in a manner, and by one, whose praise is, over the whole world, a passport to favour and renown. The first of these letters is one written by General Andrew Jackson, and is drawn up in the following terms: "Major Benjamin F. Smith, the bearer hereof, having made known to me his intention of travelling to the Eastward, it gives me pleasure to introduce him as a gentleman, whom I have known from his boyhood to this time, and can testify that he has always sustained an upright, moral, and honest character.

"At the commencement of the last war, he volunteered his services at the age of sixteen, was in every engagement with the Indians where I had the honour to command, and always demeaned himself as a brave and valuable soldier and officer, and at the battle of Enotochopco Creek particularly distinguished himself. Major Smith was with me during the whole Campaigns of 1814 and 1815, and in every battle with the British forces, and always sustained the character of a brave and valuable officer. I can, with great truth, recommend him as a valuable citizen and brave soldier.

ANDREW JACKSON."

July 18th, 1837."

The letter of General Coffee is as follows:

"*Cone's Creek, near Florence, (Ala.) July 12th, 1827.*

Major Benjamin F. Smith:

Dear Sir—As you are about to travel, and it is uncertain when, if ever, you will return, as a friend whose best wishes will attend you whithersoever you go, I will here bear testimony to a few of those transactions in your early career in life, which were honourable to yourself (and your worthy sire who raised you under the admonition of pure principles,) and beneficial to your country. In the first place, at the commencement of the late war, you entered the service of your country at about the age of sixteen, as a volunteer, and attached yourself to that well-known regiment of mounted volunteers which I had the honour to command. This brought your conduct immediately to my view, and enabled me to appreciate your merit at an early day. The first Campaign to the South was not hazardous, as things turned out; yet it was laborious, and although we had no fighting, yet the fatigue of marching through an Indian country, during a five months' Campaign, gave proof of your zeal in your country's cause, and evinced that you would speedily be qualified for more important service. We had hardly seated ourselves at home before the war-whoop of the savage was again heard on our frontier, and all ages and sexes were falling by the Indian Tomahawk and Scalping-Knife. There was no time to pause. The course to be pursued was plain. Our countrymen flew to arms to meet and drive back the savage foe. None were before you. Among the first who entered the tented field was yourself. You had profited by the experience of the first Campaign; and your zeal and activity were duly appreciated by those in command, and of more advanced age: although yet a boy, you were placed in the staff of the army, which of all stations draws on most responsibility; but it suited, on that account, your aspiring genius. You discharged the duties assigned you with such zeal and ability as soon gained you the esteem of the whole army. You were in the battles of Talashatchee, Taladega, Emuckfaw, Enotechopto, the Horse-shoe, and in every other action that was fought by General Jackson with the Creek Indians, from first to last of that war which terminated so much to the honour of those engaged in it, and to the benefit of the country; and not a man in the army discharged the trust committed to him, with more heroism and true bravery than yourself. After the first Campaign, we had not more than reached our homes, as before said, when our beloved Gened

reached the neighbourhood of that place next morning, by daylight. Learning at Victoria, that the Mexican party, of whom he was in pursuit, had left that place the morning before his arrival, and that about forty of the planters from the banks of the Caney, and the neighbourhood of Matagorda, had passed through that vicinage, under the command of Lieutenant Collingsworth, in rapid chase of the marauding enemy, and that they had taken the direction of Goliad; without pausing long enough to dismount his men, Col. Smith moved on in the wake of this enterprising band of volunteer warriors, hoping to overhaul them in time to take part in any conflict which they might have with the foe;

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ral, (Jackson) who had the protection of the Southern country placed in his charge, called on his old volunteers, who had served with him so faithfully, to come to his assistance for the defence of the lower country. Though the call was unauthorized by the Government at the moment, thousands yet living can testify to the alacrity of the old army on that occasion. In less than a week from the publication of the call, upwards of two thousand men appeared in the field at Fayetteville, one hundred miles in advance, all equipped for the expected Campaign. With pleasure I saw you among the most prompt and efficient young men of your grade on that occasion. You continued in the staff, discharging your duty with zeal and ability. Our march to the General was rapid and laborious. After joining him near Mobile, we marched to Pensacola, whence we drove the British shipping and the Indians. We then made the unparalleled march to New Orleans, which is at this day well known to every American; during which laborious period you were always found at your post rendering valuable service. In the battle of the night of the 23d of December, your conduct was more than conspicuous: it was very hazardous; you having reconnoitred the battle-ground, after the close of the action, to ascertain if any of our wounded had been left; the result of which examination you reported to me, and enabled us to bring off such as had not been carried off before. In all the skirmishing which occurred whilst the two armies were in view of each other, and in the battle of the 8th of January, you were actively and usefully engaged—always showing a courage worthy of a veteran soldier; for all which your country owes you a large debt of gratitude. As an old friend, I have recapitulated some of those events which serve to attach men most to each other, and which I hope you will bear in recollection as long as life lasts.

Jno. Coffee."

seriously fearing, meanwhile, that, without his aid, they might be overpowered by superior numbers. He reached a spot suited for encampment, within eight miles of Goliad, just as night was setting in; and, directing a halt, despatched two of his most trusty soldiers in advance, with orders to reconnoitre the town, and endeavour to obtain some tidings relative to Collingsworth and his bold comrades. Being disappointed in this quest, he pushed on towards Goliad next morning, by break of day, and had approached within sight of the town, when he met Collingsworth, and several of his friends, riding out to meet him. What was his surprise at hearing the brilliant young victor relate, in the true *veni, vidi, vici* spirit, that he had, some ten hours before, taken Goliad by assault; that the Mexican garrison, lately so domineering, were then prisoners of war; and that two pieces of brass cannon, five hundred muskets and carbines, six hundred spears, with a large stock of ammunition and provisions, had fallen into the hands of the captors!!

This extraordinary achievement is fairly entitled to a more circumstantial notice. It seems, that the vanguard of Collingsworth's company reached the bank of the San Antonio river, at the fording-place just below the town, about eleven o'clock on the night of the 9th of October. There they waited for the remainder of the party to come up, in order to concert with them the necessary arrangements for the attack upon the fortress, which had been already determined on. In the meanwhile, two or three of their number were sent into the Town to *reconnoitre*; who quickly returned, bringing with them a citizen of Goliad friendly to the Constitution of 1824, by whose agency guides were immediately procured perfectly familiar with all the circumjacent localities, who agreed to conduct them into the fortress. By this time the main body of the colonists had arrived. They had been detained, thus long, by several accidents, now to be explained. In consequence of the exceeding darkness of the night, they had missed the route which had been previously agreed on, and, instead of striking the river at the lower ford, had found themselves placed unexpectedly on its bank, at another one some distance above the Town. No time was now to be lost. Being unwilling to retrace their steps, in order to fall into the path which would conduct them to their point of destination, where they knew their companions in arms were impatiently awaiting them, they resolved to take their way through a *thicket of muskeet bushes* which here fringed the margin of the river, on traversing which they expected to find themselves among their comrades at the lower ford. Whilst passing through this thicket, an incident occurred which the least fanciful will acknowledge to border strongly upon romance. The horse of one of these fearless cavaliers suddenly took fright at some object concealed beneath the umbrage afforded by a clump of muskeet. It was too dark to discern anything distinctly; but the rider prepared himself for such consequences as might ensue, and, suddenly snatching his pistols from the holsters, vociferated the natural interrogatory, "*Who goes there?*" A strong and clear voice responded from the place of coverture, in good Spanish, "*A friend.*" One of the party, supposing himself familiar with the accents of the still-concealed stranger, and that they had been uttered by a Mexican acquaintance whom he had long known in Goliad, made the proper inquiry to that point. Upon which, the mysterious *man of the woods* replied, in a yet more firm and emphatic tone, "*I am Milam.*"* A conversation now ensued, in the progress of which, *he*, who was destined in a few weeks to immortalize himself as the *hero of the Alamo*, listened with delight to the glad tidings, now first conveyed to his ears, that his Anglo-American brethren in

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* Colonel Benjamin Milam was a native of the State of Kentucky; and was one of the first citizens of the United States who ventured to visit Texas. He was exceedingly charmed with the country when he first beheld *it*, which was early in the present century. Being then young, of great activity and health of body, a mind of singular energy, associated with a temper unusually enterprising, he at once engaged in various schemes, a consummation of which he ardently sought, for

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many years, through a thousand difficulties and dangers, a tithe of which would infallibly have paralysed a less daring or less persevering adventurer. His leading object appears to have been to obtain a grant of lands, in this healthful and fertile region, to be settled by Anglo-American colonists; and he is said to have applied to the Spanish crown on this subject as early as the year 1803. His first application was made for an extensive district of territory lying South-West of Red river. Being disappointed in this application, he next turned his attention to the country bordering on the river San Marcos. I find it mentioned by General Wavell, a British citizen, whose project for colonizing Texas from his own country, (in order to bar the advance of the Anglo-Americans to the South-West,) has been long before the public, that Milam eventually succeeded in obtaining a grant of a large body of land on the San Marcos river, "precisely at the spot where it was formerly intended by the Spanish government to establish a colony." It is stated that Milam could not succeed in his original plan of colonizing from the United States; and that in order to procure a grant of lands at all he was forced to contract for the introduction of emigrants from Spain. However this may be, General Wavell, in the publication already referred to, makes the following statement: "The colony here alluded to was to have consisted of about 3000 persons, and was placed under the direction of a very intelligent gentleman, General Grenmarest. It was on the point of sailing from Cadiz, when the capture of four Spanish frigates took place in 1804; and the subsequent hostilities rendered the scheme impracticable. The lands destined for its reception, which are the richest and most advantageously situated in all Texas, are now (1829) granted to settlers, principally from the United States; the only persons who have examined the country, or, indeed, it may be almost said, ever visited it, except momentarily."

Many anecdotes connected with the singular career of Milam are related by persons in Texas familiar with him, all honourable to his head and his heart, which I regret not to have had an opportunity of collecting in an authentic shape. I shall close this article with two additional sentences from the narrative of General Wavell. "Colonel Benjamin Milam (says he) endowed by nature with a strength of mind and spirit of enterprise almost peculiar to the inhabitants of the Western States of America, associated with the Indian tribes in order to explore the most southern parts of this extensive country. He subsequently engaged in the War which gave Independence to Mexico; and his courage, zeal, and love of freedom, caused his rapid advancement."

Texas were once more *in arms for Freedom*; that the Revolution had already commenced, and was going briskly forward; and that he then talked with a few of those valiant men who had resolved, like one of old, that "*wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever they should be called to make their exit, under God, they would die freemen.*" Milam had long been immured in a dungeon at Monterey; he had, through the instrumentality of a friend, been able to escape from confinement; that friend had supplied him with a horse, which horse he had mounted and rode, night and day, to this sequestered spot, on the way to his own home in Texas. What a torrent of conflicting emotions must have rushed upon him at this instant! Full fifteen years had rolled away since, side by side, with the gallant Long, he had mounted the wall of yonder grim fortress, which a half-hour since he had seen gloomily frowning down from the high hill upon which it is seated—the dim twilight investing its grey and time-worn aspect with something of a spectral majesty. In hearing of the guns of that fortress, he had cast himself upon the cold, damp earth, not to slumber—not to court the fairy illusions of Hope, the Deceiver, —but to rest his wearied limbs, and to secrete his haggard person from observation, whilst he should muse, in melancholy loneliness, over all the strange vicissitudes which had marked his bustling and changeful career. He had just been reflecting upon the numberless perils that had beset him since that glorious hour when the martyred Long and himself had strided into Labahia as conquering heroes—with the outspread banner of Freedom waving above their heads, and the terrified minions of Despotism flying affrighted before their glance. His "pained and softened fancy had been passing in sad review before his memory," the manifold trials, perplexities, and sufferings which had since rained down "all kinds of sores and shames on his bare head," "steeping him in poverty to the very lips," and "giving to captivity him and his utmost hopes." He had recurred to the period when he had been the trusted and trusting friend of Iturbide, ere yet that Arch-traitor had attempted to despoil his country of her Liberty. Then he had been himself possessed of authority and influence; and a thousand generous schemes touching the glory and happiness of his kind had beamed radiantly before his excited and philanthropic imagination. Anon he had found himself cast into prison and loaded with fetters, for daring, like Brutus, to prefer freedom to the rule of a Tyrant, though that Tyrant might be to him not an enemy. He had been in turn oppressed and maltreated by every Mexican upstart who, for a period however brief, had wielded the truncheon of usurped authority over an enslaved and wretched people. His most recent wrongs had sprung from the wrath of the Tyrant Santa Anna, by whose order he had been incarcerated at Monterey. The very print-marks of the accursed chains in which his last persecutors had bound his manly limbs, were still red upon his wrists and his ancles. Once more now, though, did he breathe the balmy air of Heaven; once more was he permitted to move fetterless over the surface of earth, and to seek comfort and forgetfulness in commune with his own beloved countrymen. But he thought of Texas! his adored Texas! and he asked himself, "When will *she* be free?" His heart sunk within him at the question; for the sorrowful *Past* seemed to point gloomily to the *Future*. Such had been the doleful reverie of the reclining hero. Suddenly he hears the tramp of approaching horsemen. He supposes them to be Mexicans, come possibly in pursuit of him. His mind, with an instinctive shudder, recurs to the horrors of the dungeon he has lately occupied. But no! they are his own countrymen, and they come to avenge the wrongs of down-trodden Liberty, and to raise him from the dust of oppression. The tide of Hope breaks upon him, as it were, from the very gulf of Despondency! What wonder that he is for the moment overwhelmed! Who will be astonished to hear that even the heroic Milam was, for a second or two, deprived of the faculty of utterance!! When restored to himself, he is described to have leaped about with ecstasy; to have cried aloud in the exultation of his soul; and to have vowed, in tones that electrified those who heard him, that he would fight once more for Liberty upon the walls of Labahia, and sprinkle that fortress afresh with the blood of tyrants. Are we not forcibly reminded by this scene of the first interview between Brutus and Cassius relative to their memorable scheme for the redemption of Rome from the bondage of Cæsar, in which the Bard of Avon makes the former to exclaim:

> "What is it that you would impart to me?
> If it be aught toward the *general good*,
> Set *honour* in one eye, and *death* in the other,
> And I will look on both indifferently:
> For let the Gods so speed me, as I love
> The *name of honour* more than I *fear death!*"

When the whole company of Collingsworth found themselves assembled at the place of rendezvous, near the lower ford, there was ascertained to be just forty-eight of them, including Milam, and one or two others who had fallen in with them on the way. They divided themselves into parties of ten each, one of which was deputed to remain with the horses; whilst the other three, each being supplied with a trusty guide, marched by different routes, to the assault. The following graphic description of the scene which ensued, is taken from a contemporaneous account, published in the New Orleans Bulletin, furnished by a Texan correspondent, the accuracy of which my own personal scrutiny has enabled me to attest. "Their axes," says this writer, "hewed down the door where the Colonel commanding the place slept, and he was taken a prisoner from his bed. A sentinel hailed, and fired. A rifle-ball laid him dead upon the spot. The discharge of fire-arms and the noise of human voices now became commingled. The Mexican soldiers fired from their quarters, and the blaze of their guns served as targets for the colonist riflemen. The garrison were called upon to surrender, and the call was translated by a gentleman present who spoke the language. They asked for terms. The interpreter now became the chief speaker. 'No,' answered he; 'they say they will massacre every one of you. Come out—come out quick; I cannot keep them back—come out, if you wish to save your lives. I can keep them back no longer.' 'Oh do, for God's sake, keep them back,' answered the Mexicans in their own language; 'we will come out and surrender immediately,' and they rushed out with all possible speed, and laid down their arms." Thus was Goliad taken, without the loss of a single life—one of the colonists being slightly wounded—whilst of the Mexicans three were killed, seven wounded, and one Colonel, one Captain, and the whole garrison besides, save those who ran off, taken prisoners.

Col. Milam is reported to have expressed himself as follows, when the conflict was over: "I assisted Mexico in gaining her Independence. I have spent more than twenty years of my life in her service;—I have endured heat and cold, hunger and thirst; I have borne losses, and suffered persecutions; I have been a tenant of every prison between this place and Mexico; but *the events of this night have compensated me for all my losses and all my sufferings.*"

A short statement of particulars will enable us to withdrew our attention, for the present, from Goliad, in order to note the movements of the army of volunteers at Gonzales, who, it will be recollected, were to set out for San Antonio de Bexar, on the 13th of October. Nothing of striking importance transpired for a week or two at Goliad. Most of the volunteers who had been convened there, became naturally solicitous to participate in the glory of expelling Cos and his army of barbarians from San Antonio de Bexar; and, in a day or two, moved in that direction. Captain Philip Demitt,* a very intelligent and chivalrous officer was left, with about fifty men, in charge of the fort, and, as will be seen in the sequel, proved himself altogether worthy of the confidence reposed in him by his fellow-soldiers.

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* I have the pleasure of knowing Captain Demitt personally; and can

The army of volunteers at Gonzales, under Colonel, now *General* Austin, when they put themselves in motion for San Antonio de Bexar, did not amount in all to more than three hundred men. So wrote General Austin to the Committee of Safety at San Felipe de Austin, on the 11th of October: and he added, "I have hopes to be joined by a part of the detachment at Goliad, as an express has been sent to them to join us on the road. But some casualty may prevent this, as Captain Collingsworth has been ordered not to abandon the fort at that place." In the same letter, he thus urges the Committee on the subject of reinforcements: "I have, therefore, to request that you will use every exertion to press on volunteers, who may come up with us in time to give us important, perhaps indispensable aid in the attack of San Antonio. Fail not to use every possible exertion in this respect, I beseech you. If there is any intelligence of troops coming on from Nacogdoches, let an express be despatched to them immediately, begging them to hurry on by forced marches to join us, and not to stay for the Tenoxtitlen cannon, or for anything. Let me request you further to send on, without delay, wagons, with what ammunition you can procure, for cannon and small-arms—powder, lead, &c.; also provisions, meal, beans, sugar and coffee, and whatever else you may judge necessary for the troops."

When General Austin left Gonzales, he marched directly to the San Antonio river, and assumed a temporary position

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assert that a more courteous and sensible gentleman I have seldom seen. He was born in Kentucky; settled many years since in the South-Western part of Texas as a merchant, and has accumulated a large fortune by honest and judicious mercantile operations. He is quite remarkable for his generosity of heart, and his devotion to the cause of Liberty and Independence.

about eight miles below the town. Here, until reinforcements should arrive, he occupied himself very diligently in ascertaining the true condition of the enemy. Finding from information to be relied on, that Cos had at his command at least one thousand soldiers, admirably supplied with arms and all the munitions of war, and that the main streets of the town were strongly fortified by barricades, and mounted cannon, he came to the conclusion that an immediate attack would be altogether impolitic. Whilst he thus suspended active military movements, he deemed it prudent to attempt to open a conference with Cos; but all negotiation was indignantly declined by this haughty chieftain, who announced that he would only treat with the Texans as *rebels*, and upon the basis of *absolute submission*. Several unimportant skirmishes occurred, in the meanwhile, between detached parties of the opposing armies, which resulted uniformly in favour of the cause of Freedom; but were productive of no signal consequences.

On the 19th of October, General Austin thus writes: "The army will take up the line of march to-morrow morning for the Salado, which is within five miles of Bexar; there it will take a secure position, to await further reinforcements. It is now fully ascertained that the citizens are well affected to our cause. Since the taking of Labahia, the enemy has been busily occupied in fortifying San Antonio, by barricading the streets, and planting cannon on the top of the church, cutting down trees, and in every way exerting themselves to make a vigorous defence. The army is in high spirits, and eager to advance; but at the same time not disposed to act precipitately."

On the 20th of October, as above indicated, General Austin advanced his army to its new position, to the east of Salado Creek; on arriving at which, he threw up entrenchments, and established his soldiers in as comfortable quarters as practicable; hoping that his strength would be sufficiently increased in a few days to authorize the as-

assumption of an offensive attitude. In this expectation he was not wholly disappointed; for by the 27th of the month, he had more than six hundred soldiers in camp, and was daily expecting additional recruits. Having grown tired of the inactivity to which he had felt himself restricted heretofore by the dictates of prudence, he resolved to get up nearer to the enemy, and embrace the earliest opportunity of bringing on a decisive engagement. With this view, he despatched Colonels Fannin and Bowie to the neighbourhood of the Town, at the head of ninety-two men, with orders to select suitable ground for the occupancy of the whole army. These officers set about the performance of this duty on the evening of the 27th, and, arriving at the Mission Conception, distant about one mile from the Town, they determined to rest on their arms for the night, and await at that place the coming up of the main army in the morning. Cos, who had been narrowly observing the movements of Fannin and Bowie, and had ascertained the smallness of their force, determined to hazard an attack next morning, before General Austin would be able to arrive and participate in the conflict; hoping, by a signal victory over a portion of the Anglo-Americans, to infuse such a panic into the remainder, as to induce them to disperse, or, at any rate, to delay active operations against him for the present; thus possibly enabling Santa Anna to come in time to his rescue. The battle of Conception, as it is called, which now took place, is so vividly described in the report of the Texan officers who commanded on the occasion, and all the particulars of the transaction are so perspicuously detailed by them, that I shall content myself with laying before the reader that interesting document.

Official Account of the Action of the 28th ult., at the Mission of Conception, near Bejar.

Dear Sir,—In conformity with your order of the 27th inst., we proceeded with the division composed of ninety-two men, rank and file, under our joint command, to examine the Missions above Espada, and select the most eligible situation near Bejar, for the encampment of the main army of Texas. After carefully examining that of San José (having previously visited San Juan) we marched to that of Conception, and selected our ground in a bend of the river San Antonio, within about five hundred yards of the old Mission Conception. The face of the plain in our front was nearly level, and the timbered land adjoining it formed two sides of a triangle, both of which were as nearly equal as possible; and, with the exception of two places, a considerable bluff of from six to ten feet sudden fall in our rear, and a bottom of fifty to one hundred yards to the river.

We divided the command into divisions, and occupied each one side of the triangle, for the encampment on the night of the 27th, Captain Fannin's company being under cover of the south side, forming the first division, and Captains Coleman, Goheen, and Bennet's companies, (making in all only forty-one, rank and file) occupied the north side, under the immediate command of myself, (James Bowie, as aid-de-camp.)

Thus the men were posted, and lay on their arms during the night of the 27th, having out strong picket guards, and one of seven men in the cupola of the Mission-house, which overlooked the whole country, the horses being all tied up.

The night passed quietly off, without the least alarm; and at dawn of day, every object was obscured by a heavy, dense fog, which entirely prevented our guard, or look-out from the Mission, seeing the approach of the enemy.

At about half an hour by sun, an advanced guard of their cavalry rode upon our line, and fired at a sentinel who had just been relieved, who returned the fire, and caused one platoon to retire; but another charged on him (Henry Karnes), and he discharged a pistol at them, which had the same effect.

The men were called to arms; but were for some time unable to discover their foes, who had entirely surrounded the position, and kept up a constant firing, *at a distance*, with no other effect than a waste of ammunition on their part. When the fog rose, it was apparent to all that we were surrounded, and a desperate fight was inevitable, all communications with the main army being cut off. Immediate preparation was made, by extending our right flank (first division) to the south, and placing the second division on the left, on the same side, so that they might be enabled to rake the enemy's, should they charge into the angle, and prevent the effects of a cross-fire of our own men; and, at the same time, be in a compact body, contiguous to each other, that either might reinforce the other, at the shortest notice, without crossing the angle, in an exposed and uncovered ground, where certain loss must have resulted. The men, in the mean time, were ordered to clear away bushes and vines, under the hill and along the margin, and at steepest places to cut steps for foot-hold, in order to afford them space to form and pass, and at suitable places ascend the bluff, discharge their rifles, and fall back to re-load. The work was not completed to our wish, before the infantry were seen to advance, with arms trailed, to the right of the first division, and form the line of battle at about two hundred yards distance from the right flank. Five companies of their cavalry supported them, covering our whole front and flanks. Their infantry was also supported by a large force of cavalry.

In this manner, the engagement commenced at about the hour of eight o'clock, A. M., on Wednesday, 28th of October, by the deadly crack of a rifle from the extreme right. The engagement was immediately general. The discharge from the enemy was one continued blaze of fire, whilst that from our lines, was more slowly delivered, but with good aim and deadly effect, each man retiring under cover of the hill and timber, to give place to others, whilst he re-loaded.

The battle had not lasted more than ten minutes, before a brass double fortified four-pounder was opened on our line with a heavy discharge of grape and canister, at the distance of about eighty yards from the right flank of the first division, and a charge sounded. But the cannon was cleared, as if by magic, and a check put to the charge. The same experiment was resorted to, with like success, three times, the division advancing under the hill at each fire, and thus approximating near the cannon and victory. "The cannon and victory" was truly the war-cry, and they only fired it five times, and it had been three times cleared, and their charge as often broken, before a disorderly and precipitate retreat was sounded, and most readily obeyed, leaving to the victors their cannon. Thus a small detachment of ninety-two men gained a most decisive victory over the main army of the central government, being at least four to one, with only the loss of one brave soldier (Richard Andrews), and none wounded: whilst the enemy suffered in killed and wounded near one hundred, from the best information we can obtain, which is entitled to credit; say sixty-seven killed, among them many promising officers. Not one man of the artillery company escaped unhurt.

No invidious distinction can be drawn between any officer or private, on this occasion. Every man was a soldier, and did his duty, agreeably to the situation and circumstances under which he was placed.

It may not be amiss here to say, that near the close of the engagement another heavy piece of artillery was brought up, and fired thrice, but at a distance; and by a reinforcement of another company of cavalry, aided by six mules, ready harnessed, they got it off. The main army reached us in about one hour after the enemy's retreat. Had it been possible to communicate with you, and brought you up earlier, the victory would have been decisive, and Bejar ours before twelve o'clock.

With sentiments of high consideration, we subscribe ourselves, Yours, most respectfully,

JAMES BOWIE, *Aid-de-Camp.*
J. W. FANNIN, *Commandant first division.*

General S. F. AUSTIN.

After the brilliant victory achieved by Fanning and Bowie at Conception, a general desire prevailed in the army to be led on immediately to the assault upon the town; and it is certain, that General Austin, at one time, contemplated this movement. But, receiving a communication from one in whom he confided, resident within the town, announcing that the enemy had recently strengthened the fortifications greatly, he was inclined to doubt the entire discretion of venturing upon an experiment apparently so hazardous. He had no ordnance in camp which could render any material aid in the contemplated assault, and all his efforts to obtain battering cannon had so far proved entirely fruitless. Under such circumstances, he determined to hold a Council of War, composed of the superior officers of the army, for the purpose of deciding upon the future course of operations. In reference to the result of this consultation, he wrote to Captain Demit, commanding at Goliad, on the second day of November, as follows: "In regard to future operations here, I am afraid they will be tedious and prolonged, owing to the strength of the fortifications of this place, of which we have certain information. Whether the army can be kept together long enough to await the arrival of reinforcements and the necessary supply of heavy battering cannon and ammunition, I am sorry to say is somewhat uncertain. It has been almost unanimously decided by a Council of the officers, that the place is too strong to be stormed by the kind of force we have; there was but one dissenting voice; so you see our condition."

It was upon the evening of the day when this letter to Captain Dimit was written, that the army again shifted its position, to a point North-East of the town, and distant from it about a mile and a half. Many efforts had been made to entice the enemy beyond the precincts of San Antonio, so as to have something like an equal contest with them in the field, but so far they had shown a determination to hold on firmly to all the advantages of their present attitude. Day after day now passed away without any material change in the aspect of affairs; many of the soldiers still testifying a willingness to risk all the dangers connected with an attempt to take the town by storm; but their commander not being willing to expose them to perils which he yet hoped might be avoided; and being, moreover, strongly influenced by the judgment of the officers associated with him in command. The last communication of General Austin, addressed to the "Consultation of Texas," as Commander in Chief of the Army, is dated November the 14th. It is in the following words: "I have the satisfaction to inform you that since my last, some important advantages have been gained over the enemy. Captain Travis has taken three hundred head of horses, that were sent out of Bejar on their way to Laredo. They are *poor horses*; and were taken about forty miles from this place. The enemy is closely shut up in Bejar, and more discouraged every day. All we need is perseverance, and reinforcements to keep up the army. I entreat the Convention to hurry forward reinforcements, with all possible despatch, and the Campaign will soon end. There is very little prospect that the enemy will get any aid from the interior."

On the 13th of November, the day before the letter just exhibited was written, General Austin had been appointed by the Consultation of Texas, Commissioner to the United States; and the duties of his new station necessarily withdrew him from the command of the army. The final reduction [illegible] Antonio, which did not take place for a month after he was appointed Commissioner, will be narrated in another chapter; in which also, civic proceedings of the highest interest, which had lately occurred, will be fully explained.

In the mean time, the reader may possibly expect some observations in this place, upon the conduct of General Austin as a Military Commander. If any there be, who have looked to me for an acrimonious censure upon this portion of his history, they must be content to submit to disappointment. If there be any on the contrary, "any dear friend of Cæsar," who has expected exorbitant commendations from my poor "grey goose quill," why I am compelled to disappoint them also. The truth is, speaking after my profession, I consider *the case* to be without sufficient evidence, either favourable or unfavourable, to enable "*an honest and intelligent Jury to make up a verdict*," at least such a one as might not afterwards disturb their own consciences. Besides, the question of General Austin's merits as a Military Chieftain is not very necessary to be settled at any rate; since, so far as I know, or am at all willing to believe, no one has presumed to impugn his personal courage, or to dispute the purity of his motives; and since all the world will be found ready to admit that a man may be wise in council, skilful in contrivance, eloquent in debate, industrious, persevering, patient—and yet, after all, be not exactly fitted to lead an army of undisciplined soldiers, "fiery voluntaries," as Shakespeare would call them, to victory and renown.—It may be, and the event seems to lend some plausibility to the position, that General Austin should have attacked the fortress of the Alamo immediately on arriving before it; it is more probable that, had he followed up rapidly the victory of Conception, he might, by a single blow, have then ended the Campaign; but it should be recollected, that his officers, almost to a man, advised him to a different course—and among them there were persons of experience, for whose judgment he was bound to feel much deference. Perhaps the warmest admirers of General Austin would be satisfied with placing him in juxtaposition with the famous *Moreau;* and of him a profound French historian* has lately thus spoken: "History demonstrates that rapidity is all-powerful in war, as in all situations in life. Anticipating the enemy, it destroys in detail; striking blow after blow, it gives him no time to recover himself, demoralizes him, takes from him all his presence of mind and courage. But this rapidity, of which we have just seen such bright examples on the Alps and on the Po, supposes more than mere activity; it supposes a great object, a great mind to conceive it, and great passions to pretend to it. Nothing great whatever is to be accomplished without passions, and without the ardour and daring which they impart to the conceptions. Moreau, a man of luminous and firm mind, had not that impetuous ardour which, in the tribune, in war, and in all situations, hurries men away, and elevates them, in spite of themselves, to vast destinies."

CHAPTER V.

Civil History of Texas. Constitution. Provisional Government. Public feeling in Texas and the United States. Appointment of Commissioners to the United States. Colonel Austin's views as to the course proper to be pursued in regard to the question of Independence. Call of a Convention to assemble in March. Storming of the Alamo, and death of *Milam.*

On the fourth day of October, we took leave, for a few weeks, of San Felipe de Austin, and have since rambled along the western frontier of Texas, and beheld the opening scenes of the war of Independence. The stream of narrative again returns to the place whence it set out, and

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* M. Thiers.

I shall endeavour to give the reader information of various transactions important to be known. The Consultation has been already spoken of. That body was to have held its first session on the 15th of October. It did not do so, for reasons now to be stated. A meeting was held at the Head Quarters of the army before Gonzales, on the 10th of October, at which General Austin presided, composed of various gentlemen recently elected to the contemplated Consultation, and the officers of the army, at which the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting be instructed to address the members of the Consultation, requesting all who *can*, to repair to the camp of the volunteers, armed and equipped for battle; and, when so assembled, if war be necessary, to aid in fighting the battles of the country; but, if their services can be spared from the field, to determine on holding the Consultation at such time and place as the majority of the members may agree upon.

"*Resolved*, That if any portion of the members of the Convention meet at the time and place appointed, and find it impracticable to repair to the camp, as invited in the foregoing resolution, they be requested, if they amount to a quorum, to adjourn from day to day, and suspend all action until the first day of November."

It was not until the 16th of October that thirty-one delegates to the Consultation reached San Felipe. These immediately organized themselves into a deliberative assembly; and, on the following day, finding a quorum of their body not yet in attendance, adjourned until the first of November, as requested. Those whose situation was such as to enable them to join the army, repaired to Head Quarters, and the rest united themselves with the Committee of Safety at San Felipe, which, about this period, took the name of the *General Council of Texas*, and became *the government*, for the time being.

Various measures were adopted by this Council which deserve consideration. Among the earliest acts, was the adoption of a preamble and resolutions, recommending to the Consultation, the annulment of several extensive grants of land, heretofore noticed, made by the Congress of Coahuila and Texas, alleged in said preamble and resolutions, to have been "purchased by certain individuals under the most suspicious circumstances."

It being rumoured, that several tribes of Indians, resident within the limits of Texas, were in a state of considerable excitement, and were likely, without timely intervention, to turn their arms against the Anglo-American population, under the seductive influence of Mexican gold,—commissioners were despatched to them, supplied with requisite authority to negotiate for their neutrality in the impending struggle. These Commissioners proceeded promptly to the vicinage of the dissatisfied tribes, and were completely successful in their labours; though, in the outset, they encountered much difficulty. The chief obstacle to friendly arrangement was presented by the Cherokees, who were under the control of the celebrated Bowles, their war-chief; a man of singularly turbulent and audacious temper, full of dissimulation and ferocity, and ever since his treacherous conduct towards the Fredonians, heretofore observed upon, harbouring sentiments of deadly malevolence towards the whole body of settlers from the United States. Even his wrath was finally assuaged though, and the Council received assurances that no farther danger was to be apprehended, for the present, from this quarter.

Some arrangements were now concerted for organizing a Corporate Treasury, for the maintenance of the war with Mexico—a matter of vital importance. For this purpose, certain public agents were appointed, who were directed to associate themselves with the Committees of Safety in the different Municipalities, and in conjunction with them, or separately, as might prove most convenient, (but yet with their approbation,) to "demand, receive, and receipt for, all public moneys, in the hands of officers and other public agents, arising from the sale of lands, stamped paper, or other dues collected as public money, either in the name of the Mexican government, or the state of Coahuila and Texas;" with power, likewise, "to contract and receive loans of money, executing obligations therefor in the name of the Council, and pledging the public faith for the payment of the same, with interest, at the rate of ten per centum per annum." These Commissioners were instructed to report progress from time to time, to the Council, whilst in authority, and on the assembling of the Consultation, to the President of that body.

A plan for the transmission of the mail was likewise matured, and put in action, which became subsequently highly beneficial to the country.

The council, in addition, occupied themselves diligently in the preparation of suitable addresses, both to the people of Texas, and to the citizens of the United States, which were drawn up with singular clearness and force, and breathed a lofty spirit of Liberty worthy of the purest ages of ancient freedom. It would be apparent to the discerning reader, upon perusing these soul-stirring effusions, as well as from other indications, that those to whose guidance the machine of Revolution had been committed, struggled, at this time, both vehemently and perseveringly, to keep alive, and rouse to tenfold fury, if practicable, that volcano of popular excitement in whose wholesome eruptions the first movements of revolt had originated; as well as to spread still more widely among their brethren who inhabited the *Father-land of Constitutional Freedom*, those feelings of lively and magnanimous sympathy of which so many shining proofs had been already furnished. Nor is there any reason to doubt the success of these efforts of patriotism on either side of the Sabine. There was scarcely a neighbourhood in Texas that was not hourly giving forth some signal token of enthusiastic devotion to the cause of Liberty, and a generous contention seemed to be everywhere prevalent as to who, among the Anglo-Americans, should do most to prostrate the common enemy. It is truly refreshing to look back, along the line of the past, and to peruse, at this distance of time, the eloquent appeals which were daily teeming from the Texan press at this interesting epoch. There is no room, in a work like the present, for the insertion of any of these patriotic documents, at length; and I shall, therefore, content myself with a single extract, by way of specimen. It will be taken from an address which emanated from the Committee at Liberty, on the 24th of October, with which the present Vice-President, Judge Burnet, was connected. It concludes as follows:—

"The sword is already drawn. Our fellow-citizens are in the field; the banner of Liberty is unfurled, and the high example of *lawful resistance* to *unlawful* usurpation, is exhibited in the gleam of their rifles, and the thunder of their cannon, before the walls of San Antonio. The committee would, therefore, affectionately appeal to such of their fellow-citizens as are still holding back from the good work, in the language of the holy prophet, 'Why halt ye between two opinions?' If the Constitution be the object of your allegiance, then rise up, like men, and support the Constitution. If Santa Anna and his military vassals be the government you desire, then avow yourselves the degraded minions of an unprincipled and infatuated despotism. The contest is for Liberty or Slavery; for life or death; for the tranquil possession of the country we have redeemed from barbarism, or a forcible ejectment from it. It admits of no neutrals. Those who are not for us are against us. Those who refuse to save the country, cannot hope to participate in the benefits of its salvation. Our numbers are few, but they are a band of heroes, and fear not the issue. Union is always important. The concurrence of every citizen is desirable. The few who still maintain their opposition are not dreaded; their number is small, their influence insignificant. But "Texas expects every man to do his duty." The door of conciliation is open, and all are invited to enter. They will be received with cordiality, the past forgotten, and the future only will be regarded. The times are critical, the emergency is pressing, and calls for promptitude and energy. Texas is at war; and any citizen who shall be found in practices inimical to her high interests, will be dealt with according to the utmost rigour of military law. The committee urge these things, not in the spirit of dictation, but of friendly admonition; not to alarm, but to convince and to allure every misguided citizen into the path of duty, of interest, and of honour. The aged and the infirm who cannot take the field, can contribute of their substance; the young, the robust, and the gallant, are exhorted to repair to the camp, to unite with their brethren in arms, and to exhibit themselves the worthy descendants of the heroes of '76. Horses, arms and ammunition, are wanted; steady hands and brave hearts are wanted, to repel the storm of desolation that lowers over our beautiful country. Let no man hold back too long: there is danger in delay: there is mischief in disunion. There is safety, happiness, and a speedy peace in a united, prompt, and decisive exertion of our strength. The committee would repeat the motto of the gallant hero of Trafalgar, "*Texas expects every man to do his duty.*"

The Anglo-American population in the North-Eastern section of Texas, were by no means deficient in zeal at this period. The Committees of Safety, at Nacogdoches, and other points, had manifested much energy; many volunteers had already marched, from this remote quarter of the country, to the theatre of war, and more were preparing to follow the example. A seasonable supply of lead and powder had been despatched from Nacogdoches, about the 20th of October; and an agent was sent, a short time after, to the United States, with directions to purchase *two* hundred rifles for the use of the army. The spirit of liberty blazed out, with a splendour worthy of the Revolutionary era, in the Town of Nacogdoches, upon the reception of intelligence announcing the fall of Labahia; and a general illumination testified the cordial delight which that interesting event had inspired.

At San Augustin, on the 6th of October, the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, with the subsequent concurrence of the Committee of Nacogdoches, adopted a preamble and resolutions declarative of their opinion, that a *Commander-in-chief*, for that department, should be chosen; and General Samuel Houston was invited to occupy that station. He consented to do so, and two days thereafter issued the following official order:

"DEPARTMENT ORDERS.

Head Quarters, Texas—Department of Nacogdoches, Oct. 8, 1835.

The time has arrived when the revolutions in the interior of Mexico have resulted in the creation of a Dictator, and Texas is compelled to assume an attitude defensive of her rights, and the lives and property of her citizens.

Our oaths and pledges to the Constitution have been preserved inviolate. Our hopes of promised benefits have been deferred. Our constitutions have been declared at an end, while all that is sacred is menaced by arbitrary power! The priesthood and the army are to mete out the measure of our wretchedness. War is our only alternative! *War, in defence of our rights*, must be our motto!

Volunteers are invited to our standard. Liberal bounties of land will be given to all who will join our ranks with a good rifle, and one hundred rounds of ammunition.

The troops of the department will forthwith organize, under the direction of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, into companies of fifty men each, who will elect their officers, and when organized, they will report to the head quarters of the army, unless special orders are given for their destination.

The morning of glory is dawning upon us. The work of Liberty has begun. Our actions are to become a part of the history of mankind. Patriotic millions will sympathise in our struggles, while nations will admire our achievements. We must be united—subordinate to the laws and authorities which we avow, and freedom will not withhold the seal of her approbation. Rally round the standard, of the Constitution, entrench your rights with manly resolution, and defend them with heroic firmness. Let your valour proclaim to the world that Liberty is your birthright. We cannot be conquered by all the arts of anarchy and despotism combined. In heaven and in valorous hearts we repose our confidence.

Our only ambition is the attainment of rational Liberty—the freedom of religious opinions and just laws. To acquire these blessings, we solemnly pledge our persons, our property, and our lives.

Union and courage can achieve every thing, while reason combined with intelligence, can regulate all things necessary to human happiness.

SAMUEL HOUSTON,
General-in-chief of Department."

The following interesting slip, from the columns of the San Felipe *Telegraph*, a patriotic gazette heretofore noticed, (bearing date October 17th,) affords pleasing evidence of the wholesome feeling prevalent in Texas at this trying epoch.

"*Texas patriotism.*—It is gratifying to witness the public spirit which everywhere manifests itself in the service of the country. We know one man who has taken the leaden pipes out of his aqueduct to furnish ammunition for the army; and a number of others who have melted up their clock weights, (thus stopping, as it were, 'the wheels of time,') for the same purpose. Even the ladies, bless their souls, volunteer their services in moulding and patching bullets, making cartridges, &c., and, if necessary, would enter the ranks, and fight manfully for the rights of the country. In short, but one spirit pervades the whole population, and that is a determined resolution to free themselves from military usurpation and tyranny, or perish in the attempt."

Excitement in behalf of Texas had been rapidly increasing in the United States for several months past. The citizens of this Republic felt that the Texans were their brothers in every respect, though residing beyond their own national borders; they could not doubt that they had suffered much at the hands of a tyrannical and corrupt government; above all, they beheld them contending in arms for the sacred State Rights principles, which they had been taught by their own fathers to venerate, as indispensable to the permanency of Republican institutions. Texas meetings, as they were called at the time, were convoked in almost every part of the Union, for the purpose of taking into consideration, and providing for, the wants of those who were heroically toiling for Liberty, in the far South-West. Money and arms were liberally subscribed, and chivalrous young men, whose souls were on fire with the ambition for true glory, flew with noble impetuosity to join in the war against *Centralism* and Tyranny. There were many instances of the attorney forsaking his practice, the farmer his agricultural pursuits, and the honest and prosperous mechanic the implements of his calling, to participate in this grand crusade against Despotism. Perhaps this *Philo-Texan* spirit may have been more predominant in the South and West than elsewhere; it was certainly but natural that this should be the case, since the inhabitants of these sections of the Union were nearer to the theatre of action, than their brethren of the North and East, and, of course, were better informed as to the merits of the Texan struggle. But even in the Land of the Pilgrims, many enlightened friends of Moral and Intellectual advancement, felt bound by the sternest motives of conscience, to patronise the efforts of those who they learned, like themselves, were enthusiastically desirous of carrying forward the triumphs of *science* and *virtue* into the dark abodes of *Barbarism* and *vice*.

Had not the *sovereign* state in which I have the honour to reside, rendered herself quite conspicuous by her devotion to the Texan cause, daring even, to some extent, to challenge denunciation on this head, I should feel inclined to go a little more into particulars;

> But as it is, I live and die unheard,
> With a most voiceless thought, sheathing it as a sword.

I am bound to declare though that the most imposing movement, (and the most imposing because so early) of which I have been able to obtain knowledge, which occurred on this side of the Sabine, was that which was made by a numerous meeting of citizens, held in Natchitoches, Louisiana, on the 7th of October, 1835. It was a movement, too, which imparted peculiar animation to the strugglers for Liberty in Texas, as is apparent from contemporaneous documents. Resolutions were *acclamatively* adopted by this meeting, declaring that they regarded the situation of the people of Texas such as to entitle them to their warmest sympathy; they averred that they could not look with patience upon the attempt of a foul usurper to reduce a brave and glorious people, who had been loyal to their oaths and the Constitution, to the condition of slaves by bayonets placed in the hands of a mercenary soldiery. The meeting farther resolved as follows: "That the people of Texas are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh; that they are united to us by ties of nativity and kindred; and that they are engaged in the same cause in defence of which *their* and *our* forefathers (many of them) bled and died — the cause of *Constitutional Liberty*." Another resolution proposed to lend them "all possible assistance in their struggle for Liberty, in the event that it might become necessary to throw off the yoke of the usurper." Another still, thus perspicuously and accurately states the true ground upon which the Texans had resorted to arms; "*Resolved*, that we feel proud that the citizens of Texas have shown an abiding attachment to the principles in which they have been educated; that, though few in number, they have proved themselves genuine Americans; that they have repudiated the ambitious and dangerous attempts of Santa Anna at *Centralism*, *Consolidation*, and *Dictation*, and that they are determined to "pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour" in defence of "God and Liberty." I have elsewhere spoken of the efficient influence of the Newspaper Press of the United States in calling into action the full force of popular sympathy in behalf of the strugglers for Freedom in Texas. I will now add, what every American, worthy of the name, will be proud to know, that leading editors, representing the sentiments of both great political parties into which the country has been long divided, manifested a generous rivalship of zeal on this interesting subject. That Texas had some enemies among the editorial corps at the period is true, but they were, for the most part, the underlings of faction, and men neither of character nor influence.

I shall not attempt a discrimination among a body of individuals, all of whom deserve so much esteem, as the editors just referred to; but I have deemed the occasion not unsuitable to render the meed of praise in general terms. The geographical position of the City of New Orleans is such as must at all times make it an *entrepôt*, if I may so speak, of intelligence relative to Texan concerns. This was perhaps still more the case in 1835, than at the present moment. The organs of public sentiment at this important point have it much in their power to regulate popular feeling elsewhere in reference to Texas. Nothing could be more fortunate then than the fact, that in 1835 the course of the prominent editors at New Orleans was such as to convey correct information, and diffuse a proper spirit among their countrymen. The reader will not be surprised, in this view of the subject, at my inviting his attention to several extracts from journals in New Orleans, of extensive circulation, which made their appearance in the very month of October with which this chapter stands connected. The first of these will be taken from the True American. "There are few Americans who do not desire to see Texas free and independent; and we, among the many, have always cherished a feeling of sympathy for her; and we will, on all occasions, aid her cause as far as it is in our power. It seems to us unnatural, that a band of Americans, born and reared beneath the influence of the constitution of the United States, should long suffer the military despotism and illiberal laws of Mexico. The tyranny and usurpation of Santa Anna have called forth from the Texans demonstrations of defiance which are not equivocal. We express it with confidence, and we believe, that should the new Dictator of Mexico come in close contact with the people of Texas, they will give the death-blow to the glory he has acquired as a military chieftain; and perhaps even to the power he has over his own turbulent and unsettled country." A bold prophecy, by the bye, and yet fulfilled to the letter!

The New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, of the same date, thus declares itself: "A crisis in the affairs of Texas, it seems, has at length arrived. We are by no means surprised at the attitude in which this section of the Mexican territory is at present placed; in fact, we have long anticipated it. The weak and fluctuating policy which characterized the measures of the South American Colonies, when under the Spanish government, has not given place to a much better order of things since they have become virtually independent of Spain. It is true that some of the members of the Mexican Confederacy have been marked by much more consistency and stability than others; but as a whole, they present nothing decidedly gratifying to the lover of free institutions, as founded upon a permanent basis, *the virtue and intelligence of the people*. Petty contests between rival and aspiring chieftains, the alternate sway of opposing and belligerent parties, the misdirected influence of a clergy, in palsying, by the grossest superstition, every effort of the people for emancipation from worse than slavish thraldom: these are the prominent items in the history, thus far, of the Mexican and South American States."

The editor concludes a long and very sensible article thus: "We cannot but add that our feelings are with the inhabitants of Texas; and whether they may ever become or not, an additional link in the chain of our beloved union, we shall at least hail with gratulation the successful attainment of their just rights, and their triumph over aggression and usurpation."

The editor last cited delivered himself on the 15th of October in still more zealous terms. He addressed his readers thus: "We are happy in saying that the spirit in favour of the oppressed inhabitants of Texas, goes bravely on. It is not for us to meddle with codes of rights, and furnish expositions of the laws of nations, when we find that a brave and generous people are struggling for emancipation from the gripe of oppression. Let the government of our country bow to the supremacy of law, and as such, refrain from meddling with the concerns of foreign powers. Nations, like corporations, have no souls; and can, therefore, look unmoved in their corporate capacity, on the struggles of those who, subjected to foreign domination, are striving to burst the bonds of tyranny and despotic rule. As individuals, we do not, or cannot feel ourselves bound by cold and heartless rules; and when the cry of the oppressed reaches our shores, we long to buckle on our armour, and shoulder to shoulder, contend with freemen against their cruel oppressors. Such do we believe is now the situation of the people of Texas. * * * * * * * In all probability, while we are now writing, our brethren of Texas are contending in arms for the preservation of all they hold dear, their lives and liberties. * * * * * The same ardour which glowed in the breasts of the patriots of our revolution, now lives, moves, and stimulates to the preservation of their liberties, the inhabitants of Texas. If our cause was just, so is theirs. If we were willing to sacrifice our all on the altar of '76, with the same devotion do the struggling freemen of Texas bring their incense, hallowed by the spirit of Liberty, to the altar of 1824. God grant that justice may prevail in the latter, as in the former case. Not many years have elapsed, since the story of Grecian wrongs enlisted our strongest feelings and sympathies; and nobly did Americans contribute to her relief; yea, the streams of a Nation's charity almost flowed in upon her classic soil. And Greece too was thousands of miles removed from us; * * * * our ears and hearts were open to the cry of Polish suffering, and we longed that distance should be annihilated, that we might fly, with arms in our hands, to assist them in their expiring struggle against relentless enemies, and savage oppressors. And shall we turn a deaf ear to the call of our brethren in Texas, who, it has been justly observed, "are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh;" and who are now contending for the permanency of free and just institutions, against myrmidons of slavish priest-craft and tyrannical oppression? far from it: *their cry has met with a response;* and such a one as will tell their enemies that they cannot, with impunity, trample upon the imprescriptible rights of man."

Thus was it, in October, 1835, with public feeling in the United States. It was a deep and shoreless ocean, o'er whose surface "the tempest's breath" was just beginning to "prevail," but which was presently to rise, in full and fierce majesty, as if by the fiat of the moral Dictator of the Universe, and to heave its resistless billows towards the shores of barbarism and ignorance in the remote South.

West, with such impetuous and rushing energy, that no Mexican Canute, except for one short moment possibly, would have the audacity to seat himself upon its awful margin, and to exclaim, "Hitherto, and no farther, shalt thou come, and *here* shall thy proud waves be stayed!" Thus were the scattered members of the Anglo-American family proving to the present age, and to all posterity, that they were bound together by moral ligaments more controlling than the mandates of official authority; far, far more indissoluble than the mercenary chains which are forged by cunning artificers from the gold of tyrants. In a few weeks shall we see the descendants of the lofty heroes of 1776, from either side of the Sabine, congregated as

> "A proud, brotherly, and civic band,
> All unbought champions in no princely cause
> Of vice-entailed corruption,"

going forth

> "With unambitious heart and hand,
> To win true glory's stainless victories.".

The intelligence now reaching Texas, almost every day, from some important point of the United States, administered much encouragement to the asserters of Freedom, and confirmed them still more fully in the resolution which they had formed to go forward in the good work which had been commenced. We shall, after a while, see the final step of *separating* for ever from Mexico, powerfully influenced by admonition received from the enemies of despotism in the natal land of Washington, of Jefferson, and of Madison. The correctness of what is here said, may be judged by examining the tone of the San Felipe Telegraph at this period. The patriotic conductors of that paper thus express themselves in the very month of October with which this Chapter stands associated:—"The most flattering assurances have been received from the United States that we may rely upon much assistance in that quarter, in arms, ammunition, vessels, and men. Public meetings have been held in various places, to take this subject into consideration, and measures have been adopted to forward supplies of cannon, muskets, ammunition, &c. It will be seen by the resolutions from Natchitoches, which we publish to-day, that a lively interest is taken in our behalf in that place. These resolutions undoubtedly express the views and feelings of every lover of Liberty throughout the United States. A considerable number of volunteers from Louisiana, have already gone to join the Texan army; more are expected soon. In short, we feel confident that our friends and brethren in the United States will lend a helping hand in contending for the principles which our common ancestors have fought and bled for. The very fact that *we are not the aggressors*, that we are contending for rights guarantied to us in the republican institutions under which we were received as citizens of this country, will enlist in our behalf the sympathies of every philanthropist. Had we, without a struggle, yielded our dearest rights into the hands of the military, we should have shown ourselves unworthy the land which gave us birth, and merited the contempt of every patriot!"

On the last day of the same month, the Telegraph threw before its readers the following article:—"Almost every day brings with it cheering intelligence from some quarter. The last arrival confirms previous accounts of the great excitement which our cause has produced in the United States. Sixty-five volunteers, well equipped, have arrived from New Orleans on board the schooner Columbus. Seventy or eighty have started to come by land, and many more are about to start. The Columbus has brought two pieces of artillery with ammunition, &c. Another vessel is expected to arrive in a few days with more troops. It is also said, that the creoles of New Orleans have raised a company of one hundred and fifty men, who are ready to embark for Texas, to join the army of the people. Subscriptions are opening in New Orleans, to raise funds to be applied to the use of Texas, to aid in carrying on the war. The extracts which we copy to-day from New Orleans papers, show that a lively interest is felt in our welfare, and that we may with confidence expect all the aid we may need."

Such was the general aspect of Texan affairs, at the close of the month of October. On the third day of November, the expected Consultation convened at San Felipe, and organized itself by the election of a President, and the appointment of a Secretary. Dr. Branch T. Archer was chosen President, and P. B. Dexter, Esq. Secretary. On being conducted to the chair, Dr. Archer delivered the following address:

"GENTLEMEN,—I return to you my thanks for the honour you have conferred on me. The duties which devolve upon the members of this body are arduous and highly important: in fact, the destinies of Texas are placed in your hands; and I hope that you are now assembled, in every way prepared to discharge those duties in a manner creditable to yourselves and beneficial to your country. I call upon each and all of you, to divest yourselves of all party feelings, to discard every selfish motive, and look alone to the true interests of your country. In the words of the Hebrew prophet, I would say, 'Put off your shoes, for the ground upon which you stand is holy.' The rights and liberties of thousands of freemen are in your hands, and millions yet unborn may be affected by your decision.

The first measure that will be brought before the house, will be a declaration, in which we will set forth to the world the *causes* which have impelled us to take up arms, and the *objects* for which we fight.

Secondly: I will suggest for your consideration the propriety of establishing a provisional government, the election of a governor, lieutenant-governor, and council; and I would recommend that these officers be clothed with both legislative and executive powers. This measure I conceive absolutely necessary to prevent Texas from falling into the labyrinth of anarchy.

Thirdly. The organization of the military requires your immediate attention. You have an army in the field, whose achievements have already shed lustre upon our arms: they have not the provisions and comforts necessary to continue their services in the field. Give them character, or their victories, though they are achieved not without danger and glory, will, nevertheless, be unproductive of good. Sustain and support them, and they will do honour to you, and render incalculable services to their country. But neglect them—Texas is lost. The adoption of a code of military laws is indispensable. Without discipline and order in the ranks, your armies will be mobs, more dangerous to themselves than to their adversaries, and liable at all times to be routed or cut to pieces by a handful of regulars. I know the men that are now in the field; there never were better materials for soldiers; but without discipline, they can achieve nothing. Establish military laws, and, like the dragons' teeth sown by Cadmus, they will produce armed men. It will be necessary to procure funds, in order to establish the contemplated government, and to carry on the war in which we are now engaged. It will, therefore, be our duty to elect agents to procure those funds. I have too high an opinion of the plain practical sense of the members of this body, to think for a moment that they will elect any but some of our most influential citizens to this important post. Without funds, however heroically your armies may fight, however wisely your councils may legislate, they will but erect a baseless fabric, that will fall of its own weight.

There are several warlike and powerful tribes of Indians that claim certain portions of our land. Locations have been made within the limits they claim, which has created great dissatisfaction amongst them. Some of the chiefs of those tribes are expected here in a few days; and I deem it expedient to make some equitable arrangement of the matter that will prove satisfactory to them.

Permit me to call your attention to another subject.

Some of our brethren of the United States of the North hearing of our difficulties, have generously come to our aid; many more, ere long, will be with us: services such as they will render should never be forgotten. It will be proper for this Convention to secure to them the rights and privileges of citizens, to secure to them their land 'in head-right,' and place them on the same footing with those of our citizens who have not yet obtained from government their lands, and in all other respects to place them on an equal footing with our most favoured citizens. Again, the path to promotion must be open. They must know that deeds of chivalry and heroism will meet their reward, and that you will throw no obstruction in their pathway to fame.

Some fraudulent sales or grants of land, by the late government of Coahuila and Texas, will require your attention. The establishment of mails, and an express department, is deemed necessary to promote the interests of the country, besides other minor matters that have escaped my observation in this cursory review.

Finally, gentlemen and friends, let me call your attention from these details to the high position which you now occupy. Let me remind you that the eyes of the world are upon you; that battling, as we are, against the despotism of a military chieftain, all true republicans, all friends to the liberties of man, are anxious spectators of the conflict, or deeply enlisted in the cause. Let us give evidence that we are the true descendants of that band of heroes who sustained an eight years' war against tyranny and oppression, and gave Liberty to a new world. Let our achievements be such that our mother country, when she reads the bright page that records them, shall proudly and joyfully exclaim, These are my sons! their heroic deeds mark them as such. Again, gentlemen, let me admonish you, 'that the ground on which you stand is holy;' that your decisions will affect the rights and liberties of thousands of freemen, the destinies of millions yet unborn, and, perhaps, the cause of Liberty itself. I do not view the cause in which we are engaged as that of freemen fighting alone against military despotism: I do not view it as Texas battling alone for her rights and her liberties: I view it in a nobler, more exalted light; I view it as the great work of laying the corner-stone of Liberty in the great Mexican Republic."

I will not undertake to give a minute history of all the proceedings of this body; it will be sufficient at present to allude to one or two of its leading measures. A Provisional government was established, consisting of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and a General Council; the members of the General Council being elected from among the members of the Consultation, one member out of each municipality; the Governor and Lieutenant to be chosen by said Consultation. This Provisional government was to remain in power until the re-assembling of the Consultation, or until other delegates should be elected by the people, and another government established. The whole executive authority of the country, with very slight exceptions, was lodged in the Governor, for the time being, and this authority was capable of being enlarged to any extent which might be deemed necessary by the Council, who seem to have had no power to abridge it. The General Council was given all the needful legislative authority, and of this body, the Lieutenant-Governor was to act as President, and in certain contingencies, to perform the duties of Governor. A Judicial system was organized. The right of trial by Jury, in criminal cases, was asserted. A regular army was provided for, to have at its head a Major-General, under the title of *Commander-in-chief*. Suitable forfeitures were imposed upon such as should leave the country to avoid participation in the war. Moneys due to the Mexican government, or the government of Coahuila and Texas, for lands situated in Texas, were sequestrated. All official commissions were now to issue, "In the name of the People, Free and Sovereign," and to be signed by the Governor and Secretary.

The attitude, at this moment, assumed by Texas towards Mexico, may be ascertained by the following Declaration adopted by the Consultation, on the seventh of November:

"Whereas, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, and other military chieftains, have, by force of arms, overthrown the Federal Constitution of Mexico, and dissolved the social compact which existed between Texas and the other members of the Confederacy, now, the good people of Texas availing themselves of their natural right, SOLEMNLY DECLARE,

First, That they have taken up arms in defence of their rights and liberties, which were threatened by encroachment of military despots, and in defence of the Republican principles of the Federal Constitution of Mexico, of 1824.

Second, That Texas is no longer morally or civilly bound by the compact of union; yet stimulated by the generosity and sympathy common to a free people, they offer their support and assistance to such of the members of the Mexican Confederacy as will take up arms against military despotism.

Third, That they do not acknowledge that the present authorities of the present nominal Mexican Republic, have the right to govern within the limits of Texas.

Fourth, That they will not cease to carry on war against the said authorities whilst their troops are in the limits of Texas.

Fifth, That they hold it to be their right during the disorganization of the Federal system, and the reign of despotism, to withdraw from the Union, to establish an Independent government, or to adopt such measures as they may deem best calculated to protect their rights and liberties; but that they will continue faithful to the Mexican government so long as that nation is governed by the Constitution and laws that were framed for the government of the political association.

Sixth, That Texas is responsible for the expenses of her army in the field.

Seventh, That the public faith of Texas is pledged for the payment of any debts contracted by her agents.

Eighth, That she will reward by donations in land, all who volunteer their services in her present struggle, and receive them as citizens.

These Declarations we solemnly avow to the world, and call God to witness their truth and sincerity, and invoke defeat and disgrace upon our heads, should we prove guilty of duplicity."

Texas, it will be perceived, was not yet prepared to assert, in unconditional terms, her Independence of Mexico. That a majority of her citizens even now desired Independence, is not to be questioned. But the necessity of exterior aid was profoundly felt by all; at least as profoundly as a similar sentiment had been felt by their colonial fathers in 1775; ere the magnanimous kindness of France had given them thorough assurance that the prophetic words of their "forest-born Demosthenes" would be verified, and that "God would raise up friends for them," across the ocean, by whose assistance they would be able to encounter and vanquish the audacious and all-grasping "Philip of the Seas." Texas did not esteem it altogether seemly and decorous to attempt to rush, as it were, into the grand *Hall of Nations*, until she could calculate with some confidence, upon the kind offices of some respectable *introductor*, through whose agency, a polite, if not an affectionate reception, would be accorded her. It is true, that the Declaration which she now made, almost amounted to an assertion of entire Independence; inasmuch as they distinctly announced their withdrawal from the Mexican Confederacy until the National Government should agree to be regulated by the Constitution of 1824; there being not the smallest reason to believe that this would ever be the case. It is even possible, that the final step might have been taken by the Consultation at this moment, but for an evident want of sufficient authority in that body. A new Convention, with fuller powers, would have, of necessity, to be convoked, in order to attain such an object; for the present one was without express or even implied instructions on the point; and at the period of the election of its members, the decisive measure of the Mexican Government *of October the third*, already repeatedly referred to, was not known in Texas to have occurred. The following extract from a Report to the Provisional Government, made by General Austin, on the second of December, anterior to his setting out for the United States as Commissioner, will enable the reader to comprehend clearly the precise attitude of Texas in relation to the question of Independence at this time.

"At the time of the former elections, the people did not, and could not fully understand their true situation; for it was not known then, to a certainty, what changes would take place in Mexico, what kind of government would be established, or what course would be pursued towards Texas. It was only known, then, that the central party was in power, that all its measures tended to the destruction of the federal system, and that preparations were making to invade Texas.

But at the present time, the people know that the government is changed—that centralism is established by the decree of the 3d October last, and that they are threatened with annihilation. In short, the whole picture is now clearly before their view, and they see the dangers that are hanging over them. Can these dangers be averted by a provisional organization, which is based upon a declaration that is equivocal, and liable to different constructions? Does not the situation of the country require a more fixed and stable state of things? In short, is it not necessary that Texas should now say in plain and positive, and unequivocal language, what is the position she occupies, and will occupy: and can such a declaration be made without a new and direct resort to the people, by calling, as speedily as possible, a Convention, with plenary powers, based upon the principle of equal representation in proportion to the population?

These are questions of the most vital importance. I respectfully submit them to the calm deliberation of the Provisional Government, in the full confidence that all the attention will be given to the subject which its importance merits.

Without expressing any individual opinion of my own, as to the time or day when the new elections ought to take place, which would, perhaps, be indecorous in such a communication as this, the object of which is to lay facts before the Provisional Government, I deem it to be my duty to say, that so far as I could judge of the opinions and wishes of the citizens who were in the volunteer army when I left them on the 25th ult., they were in favour of an *immediate* election of a Convention, with plenary power."

On the day after this Report to the Provisional Government was made by General Austin, that gentleman was formally called upon by the Chairman of the Committee of State Affairs, D. C. Barret, Esq., to present to the government "a full and accurate expression of his views," on the interesting subject now under notice; with which application, with his usual promptitude in such cases, he complied, on the same day, in the following communication, the merit of which, as a discreet, perspicuous, and dignified political document, has indeed, been much overrated by me, if it shall not prove eminently entertaining and instructive to the judicious and scrutinizing student of "Texas and the Texans."

"San Felipe de Austin, Dec. 3, 1835.

To D. C. Barret, Esq.

Dear Sir :—

I have just received your note of this date, in which you request my opinion, as to calling a convention without delay, on the plan of equality of representation, as nearly as practicable.

In two communications which I have made to the provisional government, under date 30th ult. and 2d inst., I took a view of the present political situation of the country, which has a close connection with the subject of your inquiry. I refer you to them, as those communications were of an official character; the object of which was to state facts, as I understood them. I gave no opinion as to when the convention should be called, believing it to be more proper to leave the provisional government to draw its own conclusions.

The present communication is of a different character: I am directly called upon to give an opinion. I should comply with this request with great diffidence, did I not believe that the prudence and the better judgment of the Council (to which you say it will be submitted by you, as chairman of the committee on state affairs,) will detect any inaccuracies or false positions it may contain.

The general consultation of Texas was elected at a time when the country was distracted by popular excitements, produced by the diversity of opinions which naturally resulted from the disbelief of some that the federal system would be destroyed, or was even attacked, the excited and intemperate zeal of others, and the general want of certain information in all. It could not be reasonably expected that a body elected under such circumstances, would be entirely free from the conflicting opinions that prevailed among their constituents, or that a clear and positively definite position would be taken by it. The majority of Texas, so far as an opinion can be formed, from the acts of the people at their primary meetings, was decidedly in favour of declaring in positive, clear, and unequivocal terms, for the federal constitution of 1824, and for the organization of a local government, either as a state of the Mexican confederation, or provisionally, until the authorities of the State of Coahuila and Texas could be restored. This measure was absolutely necessary to save the country from anarchy; for it was left without any government at all, owing to the dispersion and imprisonment of the executive and legislative authorities, by the unconstitutional intervention of the military power. Some individuals were also in favour of Independence, though no public meeting whose proceedings I have seen, expressed such an idea.

We have seen the consequence of these conflicting opinions, in the declaration made by the consultation, on the 7th of the last month. It is not entirely positive and definite in its character. Whether or not the crisis in which Texas is now placed, can be met and sufficiently provided for, by a position which admits of construction in its application, is a matter of opinion; as for myself, I believe it cannot.

The character of the struggle in which Texas is engaged, is now clearly developed; it evidently is one of life or death, "to be, or not to be." It is no longer a mere question about the forms of political institutions; it is one of self-preservation. Texas is menaced with a war of extermination; the government of Mexico has so proclaimed it. The people now understand their situation, and consequently are much better prepared to elect public agents, to provide against such a danger, than they were at the time of the last election. At that time, the form of government was not changed by any act which had the influence or the character of law; it now is by the decree of the 3d of October last. At that time, the state government existed; at this, no such thing as a state exists, not even in name. The decree of the 3d of October has converted them into *departments*, without any legislative powers whatever, and entirely subject to the orders of the president and central government in Mexico.

Again, the representation in the consultation was very unequal, a principle that should be cautiously avoided, so far as practicable, in a body that is to settle the political destinies of a community where all are equally interested.

The consultation, foreseeing that such a crisis as the present might arrive, has very wisely provided for the calling of a convention by the provisional government; and I am clearly of opinion it ought to be done with the least possible delay.

Another weighty reason in favour, is that the world are not yet sufficiently informed or enlightened on the causes or the merits of the present conflict. The people of Texas have been, and now are accused of being ungrateful rebels, who have repaid the favours and bounties of the nation with ingratitude and rebellion. This accusation is unfounded and unjust. That individuals have committed imprudences and even excesses, and by so doing, have injured the character and best interests of Texas, by giving a pretext to our enemies to confound the whole of the people with those individuals, may be true; but when the causes of such excesses are sought for, they will be found to have proceeded from bad government, bad legislation, bad administration, or no government at all. Is this the fault of Texas? Whenever the people here have tried to get a local organization of their government, in order to correct and punish such excesses, they have been treated as rebels; so that the people are denounced because the want of local government produces anarchy; and whenever they attempt to apply a remedy, they are treated as ungrateful rebels! This country has been redeemed from the wilderness by the people who now live in it, and without any cost to the general government or to the nation. The settlers were stimulated to persevere and to overcome the most appalling difficulties, by the express guarantees of a liberal system of government, and of the right of self-government in their internal affairs, as a state of the Mexican confederation. The lands thus received were granted and sold by the state of Coahuila and Texas, and not by the general government, (except a few old grants previous to the establishment of the federal system;) and it is worthy of notice, that one of the crimes attributed to the authorities of Coahuila and Texas by the general government, in justification of its military intervention, was the granting of their lands: and yet the general government claims all the merit of having given them away to the Texans! These lands and this country, at the commencement of the settlement, fourteen years ago, were valueless, and so considered by the general government, they became the sole property of the state of Coahuila and Texas, and the state alone had the power to dispose of them. The state authorities have always considered them to be valueless; a proof of which is the manner in which they have been disposed of, given away for nothing to native Mexicans, in eleven league tracts, and sold to them and to the colonists (for all the land acquired by foreign settlers was sold to them by the state,) at from thirty to one hundred dollars per square league. In 1833, *thirty square leagues of land* were voted by the late legislators to a young man (who had previously received a grant of eleven leagues,) as pay for *one year's salary, for his services* as a judge! Some eight hundred square leagues were sold by these legislators in 1834 and 1835, to speculators, principally foreigners, and to themselves; for the same legislators who passed the law for a part of this sale, were purchasers, at from fifty to seventy-five and a hundred dollars per square league.

It is not my intention to cast any censure on the legislators of Coahuila, or on the individuals who purchased; the object of the former was to raise funds out of the sale of Texas lands, to replenish the state treasury which was empty—the latter were speculators, whose object was to take advantage of any law or circumstance that favoured their views. I have mentioned this subject to prove more clearly the fact that all legislation of both general and state governments, on the subject of Texas lands, has been based on the full belief that they were *valueless*, and that the nation and the state were great gainers by getting this wilderness settled, so as to have a barrier against the Indians, without any cost whatever to the nation, on the contrary, with the gain of from thirty to one hundred dollars per square league. There never has been any kind of organization in Texas, that merits even the name of a government, at least not since the year 1827. The moral principle of the people governed them, and kept the country quiet. Peace prevailed in this country until last May: in that month, a revolutionary ball was thrown into it by the state authorities of Monclova, all *valiant Mexicans;* and since then, not a month, indeed scarcely a week has passed, without some act on the part of the general government or its authorities, to increase the irritation, and hurry this country into revolution, or into anarchy and ruin, so as to involve it in a war, to which they give the character of a national one against foreign adventurers. And yet, according to the general government of Mexico, the people of Texas alone are to be blamed for everything, and deserve death. It is something like the fable of the wolf; who devoured a sheep for muddying the water of a brook in which they were both drinking at the same time, the wolf some hundred yards *above* the sheep. That some acts have been committed in Texas which I have always disapproved, and still disapprove, is well known. They were reprobated and disapproved by the great mass of the people. But that these individual acts were of the *rebel* character which the government of Mexico says they are, or that all Texas should be condemned to ruin on this account, is as false a pretext as that of the wolf for eating the sheep. The truth is, that liberal and free principles must be banished from Texas, as they have been, or perhaps will be from all Mexico, to suit the views of the central party. To do this, the people of Texas must be annihilated; and some reasons must be given to the world for so harsh a measure. The rumours circulated by my enemies that I was interested, or in any way concerned in these large land sales and speculations, is false. This specimen of the ruinous legislation of Coahuila, as to lands, is a fair specimen of their legislation for Texas, in all other matters. A large portion of this country has thus been thrown into the hands of speculators, and entangled by conflicting claims. And are the people of Texas to be blamed for all this? Was it *their* acts that involved this country in a perplexing land-labyrinth, and in anarchy and revolution? No, it was the acts of native-born *Mexican legislators and revolutionists.* This subject, and all other matters connected with Texas, ought to be fully explained in a manifesto from the representatives of the people. This is therefore another reason why a convention ought to be called. The fact is now evident that Texas is engaged in a struggle for existence, against great numerical strength and resources; and she must supply her physical weakness by the justice of her cause. If she cannot do this, she deserves to fall.

For the reasons expressed, I am of opinion a convention should be called, without any delay, to meet as soon as it is possible to hold the elections and convene the members. This is also the decided opinion of the citizens volunteers of the army; as expressed to me very generally before I left the camp.

The provisional government will, of course, continue in full force, until changed by the convention. Their labours, in my opinion, have been directed by the purest desire to promote the general good, and merit the approbation of the country.

I remain, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

S. F. Austin."

The Consultation, after executing the task of calling the Provisional Government into existence, appointing two additional Commissioners to the United States, and performing several other acts of minor importance, adjourned. The additional Commissioners were Dr. Branch T. Archer, late President of the Consultation, and Colonel W. H. Wharton. The Commissioners waited for a few days, for the necessary instructions from the Provisional Government, and departed for New Orleans. They were instructed to proceed directly to the United States of the North, with the least possible delay, and to enter the same by way of New Orleans; to procure and fit out from that, or any other city, armed vessels for the protection of the commerce and sea-coast of Texas; to see that the necessary arrangements were made for the purchase of provisions, arms, and ammunition; to contract a loan, if practicable, at New Orleans, of one hundred thousand dollars, if it should not have been already effected, before their arrival, by the existing agent, Thomas F. McKinney, Esquire; to receive contributions for Texas, and provide for their transmission to the government; and, finally, they were instructed to "proceed to the City of Washington, with all convenient speed, endeavouring, at all points, to enlist the sympathies of the free and enlightened people of the United States — explaining to them the true political situation of Texas, and the causes which had impelled the taking up of arms." "You will approach," says the letter of the Governor to the Commissioners, "the authorities of our Mother Government, either by yourselves, or confidential friends, and ascertain the feelings of the Government towards Texas, in her present attitude — whether any interposition, on the part of that Government, in our favour, can be expected, or whether, in their opinion, any ulterior movement on our part, would be calculated to render us more worthy of their favour, or whether, by any fair and honourable means, Texas can become a member of their Republic; if not, if we declare our Independence, whether that Government would immediately recognise and respect us as an Independent people, receive us as allies, and form with us a Treaty of amity, both offensive and defensive." In the event of receiving no encouragement from the Government, the Commissioners were directed to "redouble their energies in arousing the sympathies of the patriotic citizens of the North, to rally to the assistance" of Texas." Such were the instructions to the three illustrious Commissioners; how faithfully and efficiently they executed the high duties allotted to them, will be hereafter shown. In the mean time, it is due to General Austin to exhibit the following resolution adopted by the Provisional Government, before he set out on his mission to the United States:

"Council Hall, San Felipe de Austin, December 11, 1835.

On motion of Mr. Barrett,

Resolved, by the General Council of the Provisional Government of Texas, That, as our highly-esteemed and patriotic fellow-citizen, General Stephen F. Austin, is about again to leave his country, to subserve her interests, and give a higher tone to her destinies, in the land of our nativity, as the friend and public agent of Texas, the grateful respects of this Council, for themselves, and in behalf of their fellow-citizens, be tendered to General Austin, and that in rendering him this just tribute of affection, we are impressed with a deep sense of his past sufferings and privations, while labouring in our cause, and for our good, in the city of Mexico, and sympathise in his afflictions and almost broken constitution, consequent upon a long and painful confinement, for boldly standing forth for the rights of Texas, in the stronghold of her oppressor; and that we congratulate our country upon being possessed of such an agent to represent us among the free sons of the North, in whose aid we repose the strongest hopes, in our present struggle for Freedom and existence, and that we extend to him the hand of parting love and greeting, with hopes of his success, and speedy return to the bosom of his grateful countrymen; and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the officers and members of the General Council, be presented to General Austin, before he parts from us, to accomplish the wishes and hopes of his friends.

James W. Robinson,
Lieutenant Governor, and ex-officio President of the General Council.

R. R. Royall,
J. Antonio Padilla,
James Kerr,
William Menifee,
J. D. Clements,
Lewis Ayers,
D. C. Barrett,

Daniel Parker,
Henry Millard,
Ira Westover,
Wyatt Hanks,
W. P. Harris,
James Power,
Claiborne West.

E. M. Pease,
Secretary of General Council.

On the 14th of November, the Provisional Government of Texas was placed in a state of complete organization. Henry Smith, a gentleman remarkable for his social virtues, and his zealous devotion to the cause of Freedom, was chosen Governor, and J. W. Robinson Lieutenant Governor. A message was sent to the Council by Governor Smith, on the 15th of November, replete with sound practical views, and recommending various measures which he deemed necessary to the public welfare, most of which received the sanction of the Council, and obtained the force of law in a few weeks. The Council appear to have laboured with great assiduity during the period of their existence, and passed, early in December, many ordinances which evince much Legislative skill, and aptitude for the administration of civil concerns. Most of these ordinances related to the Army and Navy of Texas, the Tariff of duties, and the affairs of the Treasury. Provision was made, on the 10th of December, in accordance with General Austin's recommendation, for the convocation of a new Convention, to be "clothed with ample, unlimited, and plenary powers." General Samuel Houston was made Commander-in-chief of the Regular army of Texas, for whose immediate embodiment and organization an ordinance had been passed.

Meanwhile, the war on the Western frontier of Texas had been attended with some decisive results which claim present announcement. When General Austin left the volunteer army, as already related, at the request of the Consultation, to take upon himself the functions of Commissioner to the United States, Colonel Edward Burleson, a highly meritorious officer, had been chosen by his fellow-soldiers to command in his room. Colonel Burleson assumed the control of the army on the 25th of November. This is represented to have been his first campaign; but he has become subsequently quite distinguished by achievements in arms; and though most of his exploits belong not to the present volume, I yet indulge a hope, that the humble pen which has just written his name for the first time, may have an opportunity of recording them in a future page. He does not appear to have been disposed to break in abruptly upon the plan of reducing the enemy, matured by General Austin, and approved by his brother-officers; and he did not, therefore, as some have thought would have been politic some time before he was placed in command, order the Town of Bexar to be stormed. I have already declined expressing a decided opinion on the question, whether the course pursued by General Austin was the very best that could have been adopted. It is, however, due to that personage, and probably, also, to his chivalrous successor, that the reasons given by General Austin himself, in support of the affirmative of this inquiry, should be laid before the public. These will appear in the following extract from a long Report of his military proceedings, made to the Consultation, under date of November 30th; and its insertion here is the more convenient, on account of its relieving me from the task of recording several incidents not heretofore noticed, but which are yet quite worthy to be known.

"I must particularly call the attention of the Provisional Government to the volunteer army, now in the field. That their services have been, and now are, in the highest possible degree, useful and important to Texas, is very evident. Had this army never crossed the river Guadalupe, a movement which some have condemned, the war would have been carried by the Centralists into the colonies, and the settlements on the Guadalupe and La Baca would probably have suffered, and perhaps have been broken up. The town of Gonzales had already been attacked, and many of the settlers were about to remove.

What effect such a state of things would have had upon the moral standing and prospects of the country, although a matter of opinion, is worthy of mature consideration; and more especially, when it is considered that, at that time, the opinions of many were vacillating and unsettled, and much division prevailed. The volunteer army have also paralyzed the force of General Cos, so that it is shut up within the fortifications of Bejar, incapable of any hostile movements whatever, outside of the walls, and must shortly surrender, or be annihilated. The enemy has been beaten in every contest and skirmish, which has proved the superiority of the volunteers, and given confidence to every one. Our undisciplined volunteers, but few of whom were ever in the field before, have acquired some experience and much confidence in each other and in themselves, and are much better prepared for organization, and to meet a formidable attack, than they were before.

The post at Goliad has been taken by the volunteers, and the enemy deprived of large supplies which were at that place, and of the facilities of procuring others by water, through the port of Copano, which is also closed upon them by the occupation of Goliad. The enemy has been driven from the river Nueces by a detachment of the volunteers who garrison Goliad, aided by the patriotic sons of Ireland, from Power's colony. More than one hundred of the enemy, including many officers, have been killed; a great many have been wounded, others have deserted, and a valuable piece of brass cannon, a six-pounder, has been taken, and another preserved (the one that was at Gonzales) from falling into the hands of the enemy. Three hundred head of horses have been taken, and the resources for sustaining an army in Bejar are all destroyed or exhausted, so that an enemy in that place is at this time more than three hundred miles from any supplies of bread-stuff, and many other necessary articles. All this has been effected by the volunteer army in a little more than one month, and with the loss of only one man killed in battle, and one wounded, (who has nearly recovered,) before Bejar; one wounded at Goliad, and one at Lipantitlan, on the Nueces. In short, the moral and political influence of the campaign, is equally beneficial to Texas and to the sacred cause of the Constitution and of Liberty, and honourable to the volunteer army. This army is composed, principally, of the most intelligent, respectable, and wealthy citizens of the country; and of volunteers from Louisiana and Alabama,—men who have taken up arms from principle, from a sense of duty, and from the purest motives of patriotism and philanthropy. They have bravely sustained the rights of Texas, and the cause of Mexican Liberty, and patiently borne the exposure and fatigue of a winter's campaign during the most inclement, wet, and cold spell of weather known in this country for many years. The most of them are men of families, whose loss would have made a fearful void in our thin community. They might have been precipitated upon the fortifications of Bejar, which were defended by seven or eight hundred men, and a number of cannon, and taken the place by storm, against superior numbers; and Texas might, and in all probability would, have been covered with mourning in the hour of victory. On consultation with the officers in councils of war, it was deemed most prudent not to hazard so much in the commencement of the contest, when a disaster would have been so materially injurious; and the system was adopted, of wasting away the resources, and spirits, and numbers of the enemy by a siege, the ultimate success of which appeared to be certain, without any serious hazard on our part. That the fall of Bejar within a short time, and with a very little loss, will be the result, I have no doubt."

Milam* again rushes upon the reader's sight! This Hero had arrived from Goliad. The magnificent fury he had displayed there, had not yet evaporated. He could not rest quiet whilst a hostile Mexican bruised the herbage of Texas with his ruffian feet, or tainted her pure atmosphere with his pestilential breath. Especially did he wish to wreak his vengeance upon the demoniacal Cos, who had been the foul agent of Santa Anna in depriving him of Liberty. If he could not see him die out-right, he wished at least to behold the Barbarian Chieftain packing with his convict soldiers, in disgrace, towards the theatre of his own sufferings. One morning he steps out from the ranks; (reader! this is no fiction;) and craves permission of the noble Burleson to beat up for volunteers to storm the Town. Permission is granted. He exclaims aloud, in a voice that will never be forgotten by those who hear it, "Who will join Old Ben Milam in storming the Alamo?" Three hundred, yes, three hundred brave warriors start to their feet as if they had been roused by the sound of a trumpet, and rally around the grey-haired veteran. Now for the dreadful onslaught! Let him who admires genuine chivalry, and rejoices over the triumphs of the champions of Liberty, read the following indubitable official accounts of a scene of glory which has no parallel in history, and a recital of which would have excited astonishment and delight in the days of Richard and of Saladin.

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* Colonel William H. Wharton, in one of the numbers of "*Curtius*," already referred to, published first in the Pittsburg Gazette, notices the conduct of Milam at the storming of San Antonio, in the following terms: "To Colonel Benjamin R. Milam belongs, as commander, the deathless renown of that heroic exploit. For six successive days and nights did he unceasingly grapple with the enemy; his own life was the price of his triumph, and he was destined, like Wolfe and Pike, 'to sleep the sleep of death in the arms of victory.' As long as unimpeached integrity, uncompromising patriotism, and undaunted valour, are esteemed among mankind, so long will his name be fresh and sacred in the memory of every friend of virtue and freedom.

"Oft shall the soldier think of thee,
  Thou dauntless leader of the brave,
Who on the heights of tyranny
  Won freedom! and a glorious grave.

And o'er thy tomb shall pilgrims weep,
  And pray to Heaven in murmurs low,
That peaceful be the Hero's sleep
  Who conquered San Antonio.

Enshrined on honour's deathless scroll,
  A nation's thanks will tell thy fame;
Long as her beauteous rivers roll,
  Shall freedom's votaries hymn thy name

For bravest of the Texan clime,
  Who fought to make her children free,
Was *Milam!* and his death *sublime*,
  Link'd with undying liberty."

"Head Quarters, Volunteer Army, Bejar, December 14, 1835.

To his Excellency the Provisional Governor of Texas.

Sir,—I have the satisfaction to enclose a copy of Colonel Johnson's account of the storming and surrendering of San Antonio de Bejar, to which I have little to add that can in any way increase the lustre of this brilliant achievement, to the federal arms of the volunteer army under my command; and which will, I trust, prove the downfall of the last position of military despotism in our soil of freedom.

At three o'clock in the morning of the 5th instant, Colonel Neil, with a piece of artillery, protected by Captain Roberts and his company, was sent across the river to attack, at five o'clock, the Alamo, on the north side, to draw the attention of the enemy from the advance of the divisions which had to attack the suburbs of the town, under Colonels Milam and Johnson. This service was effected to my entire satisfaction; and the party returned to camp at nine o'clock, A. M.

On the advance of the attacking divisions, I formed all the reserve, with the exception of the guard necessary to protect the camp, at the old mill position; and held myself in readiness to advance, in case of necessity, to assist when required; and shortly afterwards passed into the suburbs to reconnoitre, where I found all going on prosperously, and retired with the reserve to the camp. Several parties were sent out mounted, under Captains Cheshire, Coleman, and Roberts, to scour the country, and endeavour to intercept Ugartachea, who was expected, and ultimately forced an entry, with reinforcements for General Cos. Captains Cheshire, Sutherland, and Lewis, with their companies, were sent in as reinforcements to Colonel Johnson, during the period of attack; and Captains Splane, Ruth, and Lieutenant Borden, with their companies, together with Lieutenant-Colonels Somerville and Sublett, were kept in readiness as further assistance if required. On the evening of the 8th, a party from the Alamo, of about fifty men, passed up in front of our camp and opened a brisk fire, but without effect; they were soon obliged to retire precipitately, by opening a six-pounder on them, commanded by Captain Hunnings, by sending a party across the river, and by the advance of Captain Bradley's company, who were stationed above.

On the morning of the 9th, in consequence of advice from Colonel Johnson, of a flag of truce having been sent in, to intimate a desire to capitulate, I proceeded to town, and by two o'clock, A. M., of the 10th, a treaty was finally concluded by the commissioners appointed, to which I acceded immediately, deeming the terms highly favourable, considering the strong position and large force of the enemy, which could not be less than thirteen hundred effective men; one thousand one hundred and five having left this morning with General Cos, besides three companies and several small parties which separated from him in consequence of the fourth article of the treaty.

In addition to a copy of the treaty, I enclose a list of all the valuable property ceded to us by virtue of the capitulation.

General Cos left this morning for the mission of San José, and to-morrow commences his march to the Rio Grande, after complying with all that had been stipulated.

I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing in the warmest terms, my entire approbation of every officer and soldier in the army, and particularly those who so gallantly volunteered to storm the town, which I have the honour to command, and to say that their bravery and zeal on the present occasion, merit the warmest eulogies which I can confer, and the gratitude of their country. The gallant leader of the storming party, Colonel Benjamin R. Milam, fell gloriously on the third day, and his memory will be dear to Texas as long as there exists a grateful heart to feel, or a friend of liberty to lament his worth. His place was most ably filled by Colonel F. W. Johnson, adjutant-general of the army, whose coolness and prudence, united to daring bravery, could alone have brought matters to so successful an end, with so very small a loss, against so superior a force, and such strong fortifications. To his shining merits on this occasion, I bore ocular testimony during the five days' action.

I have also to contribute my praise to Major Bennet, quarter-master-general, for the diligence and success with which he supplied both armies during the siege and storm.

These despatches, with a list of killed and wounded, will be handed to your Excellency by my first aid-de-camp, Colonel William T. Austin, who was present as a volunteer during the five days' storm, and whose conduct on this and every other occasion, merits my warmest praise.

To-morrow, I leave the garrison and town under command of Colonel Johnson, with a sufficient number of men and officers to sustain the same in case of attack, until assisted from the colonies: so that your Excellency may consider our conquest as sufficiently secured against every attempt of the enemy. The rest of the army will retire to their homes.

I have the honour to be
Your Excellency's ob't serv't,
EDWARD BURLESON,
Commander-in-Chief of the Volunteer Army.

TO GENERAL BURLESON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FEDERAL VOLUNTEER ARMY OF TEXAS.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the morning of the 5th inst., the volunteers for storming the city of Bejar, possessed by the troops of General Cos, entered the suburbs in two divisions, under the command of Colonel Benjamin R. Milam: the first division, under his immediate command, aided by Major R. C. Morris, and the second, under my command, aided by Colonels Grant and Austin, and Adjutant Brister.

The first division, consisting of the companies of Captains York, Patten, Lewellyn, Crane, English, and Landrum, with two pieces, and fifteen artillerymen, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Franks, took possession of the house of Don Antonio de la Garza. The second division, composed of the companies of Captains Cook, Swisher, Edwards, Alley, Duncan, Peacock, Breece, and Placido Benavides, took possession of the house of Berrimendi. The last division was exposed, for a short time, to a very heavy fire of grape and musketry from the whole of the enemy's line of fortification, until the guns of the first division opened their fire, when the enemy's attention was directed to both divisions. At 7 o'clock, a heavy cannonading from the town was seconded by a well-directed fire from the Alamo, which for a time prevented the possibility of covering our lines, or effecting a safe communication between the two divisions. In consequence of the twelve-pounder having been dismounted, and the want of proper cover for the other gun, little execution was done by our artillery, during the day. We were, therefore, reduced to a close and well-directed fire from our rifles, which, notwithstanding the advantageous position of the enemy, obliged them to slacken their fire, and several times to abandon their artillery, within the range of our shot. Our loss during this day was one private killed, one colonel, and one first-lieutenant severely wounded; one colonel slightly, three privates dangerously, six severely, and three slightly. During the whole of the night, the two divisions were occupied in strengthening their positions, opening trenches, and effecting a safe communication, although exposed to a heavy cross-fire from the enemy, which slackened towards morning. I may remark that the want of proper tools rendered this undertaking doubly arduous. At daylight of the 6th, the enemy were observed to have occupied the tops of the houses in our front, where, under the cover of breastworks, they opened, through loop-holes, a very brisk fire of small arms on our whole line, followed by a steady cannonading from the town, in front, and the Alamo on the left flank; with few interruptions during the day. A detachment of Captain Crane's company, under Lieutenant W. McDonald, followed by others, gallantly possessed themselves, under a severe fire, of the house to the right, and in advance of the first division, which considerably extended our line; while the rest of the army was occupied in returning the enemy's fire and strengthening our trenches, which enabled our artillery to do some execution, and complete a safe communication from right to left.

Our loss this day amounted to three privates severely wounded, and two slightly. During the night the fire from the enemy was inconsiderable, and our people were occupied in making and filling sand bags, and otherwise strengthening our lines. At day-light on the 7th, it was discovered that the enemy had, during the night previous, opened a trench on the Alamo side of the river, and on the left flank, as well as strengthening their battery on the cross street leading to the Alamo. From the first they opened a brisk fire of small arms; from the last a heavy cannonade, as well as small arms, which was kept up until eleven o'clock, when they were silenced by our superior fire. About twelve o'clock, Henry Karnes, of Captain York's company, exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy, gallantly advanced to a house in front of the first division, and with a crow-bar forced an entrance, into which the whole of the company immediately followed him, and made a secure lodgment. In the evening, the enemy renewed a heavy fire from all the positions which could bear upon us; and at half-past three o'clock, as our gallant commander, Colonel Milam, was passing into the yard of my position, he received a rifle shot in the head, which caused his instant death; an irreparable loss at so critical a moment. Our casualties, otherwise, during this day, were only two privates slightly wounded.

At a meeting of officers held at seven o'clock, I was invested with the chief command; and Major Morris, as my second, at ten o'clock, P. M. Captains Llewellyn, English, Crane, and Landrum, with their respective companies, forced their way into, and took possession of the house of Don J. Antonio Navarro, an advanced and important position close to the square. The fire of the enemy interrupted and slack during the whole night, and the weather exceedingly cold and wet.

The morning of the 8th continued cold and wet, and but little firing on either side. At nine o'clock the same companies who took possession of Don J. Antonio Navarro's house, aided by a detachment of the Greys, advanced, and occupied the Zambrano Row, leading to the square, without any accident. The brave conduct, on this occasion, of William Graham, of Cook's company of Greys, merits mention. A heavy fire of artillery and small arms was opened on this position by the enemy, who disputed every inch of ground; and, after suffering a severe loss in officers and men, were obliged to retire from room to room, until at last they evacuated the whole house. During this time our men were reinforced by a detachment from York's company, under command of Lieutenant Gill.

The cannonading from the camp was exceedingly heavy from all quarters during the day, but did no essential damage.

Our loss consisted of one captain seriously wounded, and two privates severely. At seven o'clock, P. M. the party in Zambrano Row were reinforced by Captains Swisher, Alley, Edwards, and Duncan, and their respective companies.

This evening we had undoubted information of the arrival of a strong reinforcement to the enemy, under Colonel Ugartachea. At half-past ten o'clock, P. M., Captains Cook and Patten, with the company of New Orleans Greys, and a company of Brazoria volunteers, forced their way into the priest's house in the square, although exposed to the fire of a battery of three guns, and a large body of musketeers.

Before this, however, the division was reinforced from the reserve, by Captains Cheshire, Lewis, and Sutherland, with their companies.

Immediately after we got possession of the priest's house, the enemy opened a furious cannonade from all their batteries, accompanied by incessant volleys of small arms, against every house in our possession, and every part of our lines, which continued unceasingly until half-past six o'clock, A. M. of the 9th, when they sent a flag of truce, with an intimation that they desired to capitulate. Commissioners were immediately named by both parties; and herewith I transmit you a copy of the terms agreed upon.

Our loss in this night attack, consisted of one man only, (Belden, of the Greys,) dangerously wounded, while in the act of spiking a cannon.

To attempt to give you a faint idea of the intrepid conduct of the gallant citizens who formed the division under my command, during the whole period of the attack, would be a task of no common nature, and far above the power of my pen. All behaved with the bravery peculiar to freemen, and with a decision becoming the sacred cause of Liberty.

To signalize every individual act of gallantry, where no individual was found wanting to himself or to his country, would be a useless and endless effort. Every man has merited my warmest approbation, and deserves his country's gratitude.

The memory of Colonel B. R. Milam, the leader of this daring and successful attack, deserves to be cherished by every patriotic bosom in Texas.

I feel indebted to the able assistance of Colonel Grant, (severely wounded the first day,) Colonel Austin, Majors Morris and Moore, Adjutant Bristow, Lieutenant Colonel Franks of the artillery, and every captain (names already given) who entered with either division, from the morning of the 5th, until the day of capitulation.

Doctors Levy and Pollard also deserve my warmest praise, for their unremitted attention and assiduity.

Dr. Cameron's conduct during the siege and treaty of capitulation, merits particular mention: the guides, Messrs. Erastus Smith, Norwich, Arnold, and John W. Smith, performed important service; and I cannot conclude without expressing my thanks to the reserve under your command, for such assistance as could be afforded me during our most critical movements.

The period put to our present war by the fall of San Antonio de Bexar, will, I trust, be attended with all the happy results to Texas, which her warmest friends could desire.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed,) F. W. JOHNSON, *Colonel Commanding.*
A true copy of the original,
WM. T. AUSTIN, *Aid-de-camp.*

Capitulation, entered into by General Martin Perfecto de Cos, of the Permanent Troops, and General Edward Burleson, of the Colonial Troops of Texas.

Being desirous of preventing the further effusion of blood, and the ravages of civil war, we have agreed on the following stipulations:

1st. That General Cos and his officers retire with their arms and private property, into the interior of the republic, under parole of honour; that they will not in any way oppose the re-establishment of the Federal Constitution of 1824.

2d. That the one hundred infantry lately arrived with the convicts, the remnant of the battalion of Morelos, and the cavalry, retire with the General: taking their arms and ten rounds of cartridges for their muskets.

3d. That the General take the convicts brought in by Colonel Ugartachea, beyond the Rio Grande.

4th. That it is discretionary with the troops to follow their General, remain, or go to such point as they may deem proper: but in case they should all or any of them separate, they are to have their arms, &c.

5th. That all the public property, money, arms, and munitions of war, be inventoried and delivered to General Burleson.

6th. That all private property be restored to its proper owners.

7th. That three officers of each army be appointed to make out the inventory, and see that the terms of the capitulation be carried into effect.

8th. That three officers on the part of General Cos remain for the purpose of delivering over the said property, stores, &c.

9th. That General Cos with his force, for the present, occupy the Alamo; and General Burleson, with his force, occupy the Town of Bexar; and that the soldiers of neither party pass to the other, armed.

10th. General Cos shall, within six days from the date hereof, remove his force from the garrison he now occupies.

11th. In addition to the arms before mentioned, General Cos shall be permitted to take with his force, a four-pounder, and ten rounds of powder and ball.

12th. The officers appointed to make the inventory and delivery of the stores, &c., shall enter upon the duties to which they have been appointed, forthwith.

13th. The citizens shall be protected in their persons and property.

14th. General Burleson will furnish General Cos with such provisions as can be obtained, necessary for his troops to the Rio Grande, at the ordinary price of the country.

15th. The sick and wounded of General Cos's army, together with a surgeon and attendants, are permitted to remain.

16th. No person, either citizen or soldier, to be molested on account of his political opinions hitherto expressed.

17th. That duplicates of this capitulation be made out in Castilian and English, and signed by the commissioners appointed, and ratified by the commanders of both armies.

18th. The prisoners of both armies, up to this day, shall be put at liberty.

The Commissioners, José Juan Sanchez, adjutant inspector; Don Ramon Musquiz, and Lieutenant Francisco Rada, and interpreter, Don Miguel Arciniega; appointed by the commandant and inspector, General Martin Perfecto de Cos, in connection with Colonel F. W. Johnson, Major R. C. Morris, and Captain J. G. Swisher, and interpreter, John Cameron; appointed on the part of General Edward Burleson: after a long and serious discussion, adopted the eighteen preceding articles, reserving their ratification by the Generals of both armies.

In virtue of which, we have signed this instrument in the city of Bexar, on the 11th of December, 1835.

(Signed,)
Jose Juan Sanchez,
Ramon Musquiz,
J. Francisco de Rada,
Miguel Arciniega, *Interpreter*.
F. W. Johnson,
Robert C. Morris,
James G. Swisher,
John Cameron, *Interpreter*.

I consent to, and will observe the above articles.
(Signed,)
Martin Perfecto de Cos.

Ratified and approved.
(Signed,)
Edward Burleson,
Commander-in-chief of the Volunteer Army.

A true copy.
Edward Burleson, *Commander-in-chief*."

CHAPTER VI.

Situation of Texas in December 1835. Civil history. Proceedings of Commissioners to the United States. Projected expedition to Matamoras. Colonel Fannin. His conduct at Goliad during the winter. Approach of Santa Anna. Fall of Bejar. Destruction of Fannin and his bold comrades. Shackelford's narrative. Interesting letter of General Rusk.

TEXAS was now, that is to say about the middle of December, in possession of both the important fortresses on the Western frontier; and not an armed Mexican was to be anywhere seen within her borders. The war had been prosecuted, so far, with complete success; and a fair opportunity was presented, of carrying into speedy execution the original plan of defence of General Austin and his military counsellors, indeed of all Texas—by establishing the San Antonio river as a *barrier* between the enemy and the interior settlements, in the event of an approach by land, and sealing hermetically, so to speak, the ports to the South-West, by the same movement; thus effectually obstructing any hostile ingress on the sea-side. France never attached more importance to the Rhine, than Texas should have attached to the San Antonio river, under the circumstances, for reasons heretofore assigned. Nor can it be asserted with truth, that this judicious view of the subject was ever relinquished, either by the public functionaries of Texas, or in the general sentiment of her citizens, of which many proofs remain, and are conveniently adducible. Perhaps the following will be sufficient for the present. Whilst the fortress of Bexar was yet in a state of investment by the volunteer army, a communication was addressed to the government by Captain Demit, the Commandant at Goliad, the publication of which was ordered, (thus imparting to it additional dignity,) in which the importance of strengthening Goliad was warmly urged; and the writer added:

"Cos will then make a desperate effort to retake Goliad; private families are urged to remove. Shall this fort be given up for the want of a few men, and *the key to all the supplies of the Central army surrendered into the hands of its Commander?*" Before the signal victory of December the 14th, the Telegraph, at San Felipe, emphatically a *semi-official* journal at the time, as well as a most faithful organ and regulator of public sentiment, thus remarked: "Let Bexar fall, and Santa Anna's power in Texas falls with it. Dislodge the enemy from that strong-hold, and *all attempts to invade us from that quarter would be ineffectual.* Should the expedition fail, our enemy will take fresh courage, and *the theatre of war may be in the heart of our country;* and, instead of our troops being fed at the expense of the enemy, the whole burden of supplying our own forces, and those of the enemy, will fall upon our citizens. But, by meeting the enemy in their own country, we avoid the devastating effects of the war, we preserve our dwelling-houses from the flames, and our families from the unrelenting cruelties of an unprincipled and infuriated soldiery." On the 12th of December, the same gazette held this language: "Our volunteers still keep possession of Goliad, and are determined not to relinquish it into the hands of our enemy. We consider it *necessary that this post should be maintained*, for in the hands of the enemy it might materially assist him in his operations." General Austin, in his military Report to the Consultation of November the 30th, also published with the implied sanction of the government, and without the expression of disapprobation in any quarter, had shown the importance of Goliad very distinctly, declaring that its seizure and continued retention by the Texans, had cut off the army of Cos at Bexar from "large supplies which were at that place, (Goliad,) and of the facilities of procuring others through the port of Copano, which," he adds, "is also closed upon them by the occupancy of Goliad."

But if the San Antonio river was to be made a barrier, it is obvious, that no time was to be lost, after the evacuation of Bexar by the Mexicans, in contriving suitable arrangements. Santa Anna was expected, with a large army, during the winter, or early in the spring. After the fall of Bexar, half of the month of December, with the months of January and February, might possibly be left as a season for preparation. But he might possibly, also, arrive sooner than the month of March; and his known activity certainly furnished strong ground for supposing that he would not defer operations during the whole winter. It was hardly to be expected, that this arrogant chieftain, hitherto riding as it were, upon a rushing tide of victory, and whose foolish vanity had stimulated him to an open assumption of the title of "the Napoleon of the South," would lie dormant under the heavy disgraces which had now befallen his arms. The return of Cos and his band of convicts, might rouse the bloody Avenger, whose bosom had not yet grown cold since the furious massacre at Zacatecas, to a sudden fit of frenzy, the first paroxysm of which might transport him to Texas. It certainly was unreasonable to calculate that he would permit sufficient time to escape, for Téxas to receive enough means from exterior sources, to be able to meet him in the open field. In point of fact, it was known at San Felipe de Austin, and throughout Texas, late in December, that a Mexican army of considerable strength was not very far from the Western border. The Telegraph, of December 26th, *upon the basis of an official communication*, announced to its readers that there had been one thousand five hundred Mexican soldiers on the Rio del Norte, on their way to the rescue of Cos, at the period of their discomfiture; and that the commander of this body of recruits, not being apprized of the fate of Cos, whose defeat had occurred only a day or two previous, had despatched a letter to that ill-fated officer, urging him to hold on to the fortress for a few days, and promising "ample reinforcements." So that the necessity of establishing the line of defence on the San Antonio river, was evinced even in the month of December. On the second day of January it was announced in the Telegraph, that intelligence had been received through Mexican newspapers, rendering it certain, that "a powerful effort was making to raise a large army with which to invade Texas;" and the Telegraph added, "The (Mexican) papers state that all the resources of the country were to be turned against Texas, for the purpose of chastising 'the band of foreign robbers' which they have so generously admitted into their country. Santa Anna had been called upon to put himself at the head of the army, so as to give effect to their operations. Every effort is made by the central party to give the war a national character, and to unite all parties against Texas. They say, the war is no longer whether Mexico shall be governed by the Federal or Central system; but whether a few foreigners shall be suffered to rob them of a part of their territory, or to dictate measures to the supreme authorities of the nation." The same number of the Telegraph says: "It is rumoured that Santa Anna is approaching Texas at the head of ten thousand men, determined to carry against us a war of extermination, and in their own language, *to leave nothing of us but the recollection that we once existed.*" The means possessed by Texas for meeting the approaching storm, have been judged by several to have been entirely adequate to her preservation from its rage, with prudent husbandry and timely appliances. The volunteer army which had conquered Cos, was principally composed of Texan citizens. They, of course, were in the field at the fall of the Alamo. To be sure most of them enlisted specially for this service, the performance of which left them at liberty to return to their own homes. This was altogether politic too, considering all the circumstances. Volunteers were rapidly coming in from the United States; and they were willing and anxious to do immediate duty. The fortresses of the Alamo and Goliad could safely be entrusted to their charge. Besides, provisions were not very abundant at the time, and the diminution of the number of consumers, as far as might consist with discretion, was obviously desirable, until fresh supplies could be obtained. But it does not appear, that arrangements might not have been concerted with the victors of Cos, before their departure, to return to the field by a specified day, and sooner, if events should render it necessary. It would be grossly unjust to the heroes who had so nobly and so recently *volunteered* to storm the Alamo, to suppose that they would not have cordially agreed, officers and men, to come back, had they been assured at the moment, that their presence on the frontier would be desirable. It is not, and it cannot be denied by any one, that during the months of December and January, more than one thousand young men arrived in Texas from the United States, all solicitous of participating in the war. I am not able to speak with precision as to the number of soldiers in all, that Texas could have thrown into the field. The most authentic information which has reached me on this head, is an extract from a letter written by General Samuel Houston, two days before the battle of San Jacinto, to Mr. Raguet, published extensively since, in which he says: "*Texas could have started at least four thousand men.*"*

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* It is due to General Houston, as well as to that impartial justice which it is my desire to exercise, that the following letter from the celebrated Condy Raguet should here appear, as the above extract is taken from it:

"Philadelphia, March 20, 1837.

To the Editors of the Southern Argus.

GENTLEMEN: In the New York Journal of Commerce, of the 4th inst., there appeared a communication under the signature of X. Y. copied from the Southern Argus of February 7th, respecting the battle of San Jacinto, which contained the following passage:

"I shall conclude this account by correcting a slander that has been extensively circulated not only in the United States, but in Texas itself, relative to General Houston's having been forced into the battle against his will."

Now, taking into consideration all the preceding facts, I confess that I have been brought to several conclusions, which, in honesty, I am bound to state, however reluctant

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The writer then proceeds to fulfil his promise, and his testimony is probably sufficient to exonerate General Houston from the imputation referred to, with those who know him; but, lest any doubt should remain on the subject, which has just been brought into view by the writer in question, I take the liberty of handing to you, annexed, a document, which, as an historical record, must put the matter to rest. It is a copy of a letter *now in my possession*, written with a lead-pencil by General Houston, on the 19th of April, 1836, two days before the battle of San Jacinto, to a relative of mine residing at Nacogdoches, by whom it was transmitted to a member of his family, at that time in Philadelphia, from whom I received it. It is as follows:

[EXPRESS.]

Camp at Harrisburg, 19th April, 1836.

To Col. H. Raguet, *Nacogdoches, Texas:*

"This morning we are in preparation to meet Santa Anna. It is the only chance of saving Texas. From time to time I have looked for reinforcements in vain. The Convention adjourning to Harrisburg struck panic throughout the country. Texas could have started at least 4,000 men; we only have about 700 to march with besides the camp guard. We go to conquer. It is wisdom growing out of necessity to meet and fight the enemy now. Every consideration enforces it. No previous occasion would justify it. The troops are in fine spirits, and now is the time for action.

Adjutant General Wharton, Inspector General Hockley,
Aid-de-Camp Horton,
" W. H. Patten,
" Collingsworth,
Volunteer Aid, Perry,
" Perry,
Major Cook, Assistant Inspector General, will be with me.

We will use our best efforts to fight the enemy to such advantage as will insure victory, though the odds is greatly against us. I leave the result in the hands of a wise God, and rely upon his Providence.

My country will do justice to those who serve her. The rights for which we fight will be secured, and Texas free.

Sam. Houston,
Commander-in-Chief.

Colonel Rusk is in the field.

Houston."

It so happened, that I had yesterday the pleasure of seeing Colonel Hockley, who is a native of this city, now here on public business for

I certainly feel, to wound the sensibilities of any of those high-spirited men who so nobly struggled for Texan Freedom; whose motives are far beyond question; though it may turn out, that as much discretion, mingled with energy, was not exercised by some of them, as the condition of affairs required. It seems to me, that those who possessed a controlling authority over the military concerns of Texas at this period, should have promptly set about placing the Western frontier in as strong a state of defence as practicable, *during the month of December;* and especially, that *two months and a half* should not have been suffered to glide away without doing anything towards fortifying the country on the only side where it was assailable. Five hundred soldiers should have been thrown into each of the Western fortresses, with such supplies of every kind as the utmost industry could have accumulated. Not a day should have been lost in organising an army in the interior; and though the members of this army need not all of them to have been drawn out from their own homes; yet they should have been regularly enlisted, and a portion kept on foot, whilst the remainder might have been retained under furlough, ready, upon short notice, to rush to the seat of war in sufficient strength to drive back the invaders ere

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the Government of Texas, and whose name is mentioned in this letter, and upon showing him the original, he immediately recognized it, and at my request made a memorandum upon it, in the following words:

"PHILADELPHIA, 9th March, 1837.—The annexed note was written by General Houston, at Camp Harrisburg, in my presence, and whilst sitting upon a log in front of a camp fire. He handed it to me for perusal previous to sending it to Nacogdoches.

GEO. W. HOCKLEY,
Late Inspector General Texan Army."

I am not personally acquainted, Mr. Editor, with General Houston, and have no motive in making this communication but a desire to contribute towards the truth of history.

I am respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
CONDY RAGUET."

they should urge their desolating career into the interior settlements. I have thought much on the subject; I have travelled for information over most of the country involved in the view given above; I have freely conversed with the witnesses of the tragic scenes presently to be recorded, as well as with eminent military men in the United States; and, I now assert, confidently, what posterity and all dispassionate minds of the present age will infallibly sanction, that the situation of Texas, in December, 1835, was not one of despair; that no obstacles more serious than have often been successfully encountered before, lay in the way of defending her against Mexico; and that requisite energy and management were alone necessary to enable her bold sons to meet and vanquish such an army as Santa Anna brought against them in March of the following year, or any other army which the government of Mexico was then, or ever will be, capable of embodying for the enforcement of Centralism. What was done, in fact, at this period, for the accomplishment of this great object, and what was neglected to be done, remain to be stated.

It has been incidentally mentioned that most of the Texan volunteers at San Antonio de Bexar, withdrew to their own homes, about the middle of December. A large proportion too of the volunteers from time to time coming on from the United States, not obtaining immediate employment from the government, and receiving no decisive assurance from any other quarter that their services would be immediately needed, withdrew from the country. Those who remained, and who had been disappointed at the close of active operations ere they had earned the glory for which they sighed, naturally grew somewhat restless in their feelings, and zealously embraced a project, suggested among them some time in the month of December, of carrying the war into regions beyond the Rio Grande. In relation to this scheme of operation, I find the following extract of a letter from the Commandant at Goliad, published in the Telegraph at San Felipe, in the month of January:

Extract from a letter dated Fort Goliad, December 2, 1835.

"If this (the expedition to Matamoras) or some other movement like this, is not adopted, which will enable us to hurl the thunder back in the very atmosphere of the enemy, drag *him*, and with him the war out of Texas, her resources and her blood must continue to flow, from the centre to the frontier. If this is done, the paralyzing effects, and the immediate calamities of war, will be greatly mitigated. The revenue of the port of Matamoras, now applied to support an unprovoked, unnatural, and unjust war, *against us*, would then be used in defraying the expense of the war *against him*. This, even under a bad and corrupt administration, is said to amount, on an average, to one hundred thousand dollars per month. Taken from the enemy, and used by us, this would be a *difference* of two hundred thousand dollars per month, in the relative means of the belligerents, in prosecuting the war. It is like taking a weight from one scale, and putting it in the opposite. Two of equal gravity with the one removed, are then required to restore the equilibrium.

Again, the adoption and *impetuous* execution of the plan here proposed, might enable us to barter the war off, for a speedy and honourable peace. The enemy, when he found it visited upon his own head, and saw the lightning at a distance, might adopt effectual measures to protect himself against its consuming progress, by offering a compromise, on our own terms. And should he not do this, the presence of a victorious force in Matamoras, having General Zavala for a nominal leader, and a counter-revolutionizing flag, the liberal of all classes would immediately join us, the neutral would gather confidence, both in themselves and us, and the parasites of centralism, in that section, would be effectually panic-struck and paralyzed. In this way, a very respectable army might be immediately organized *there*, principally of materials to commence active operations on the interior. This would be putting the war in the hands of lawful and proper owners; for this war is not ours, although we have been compelled, in self-defence, to become a party to it. We have neither provoked, nor yet given cause for extending it to Texas. It originated in the interior of the country, in a contest for power, and there it belongs; and we owe it both to ourselves and the enemy, to carry it *home*. Let them have the war, and let us put them in a way to fight its battles. We can then remain a party to it, or withdraw, at pleasure, with honour enough and with a well-earned, enviable reputation.

You will please urge this subject on the consideration of the Governor and Council, with zeal, force, and untiring perseverance.

Yours respectfully,
P. Demit,
Commandant."

It is evident that this plan of invasion received the sanction of the General Council of Texas upon its being regularly proposed to them; for on the 10th of January Colonel Johnson, then in command at San Antonio, issued a public notice of it in the shape of a proclamation, which commences in the following terms: "The Federal Volunteer Army of Texas, the victors of San Antonio, then and now under the command of Francis W. Johnson, through him, address themselves to the friends of Texas and of Liberty. Under sanction of the General Council of Texas, they have taken up the line of march for the country West of the Rio Grande. They march under the flag of 1, 8, 2, 4, as proclaimed by the government of Texas, and have for their object the restoration of the principles of the Constitution, and the extermination of the last vestige of despotism from the Mexican soil. Texas, herself free from military rule, yet hears on her borders the insolent tone of the Tyrant's myrmidons, yet hears the groans of her oppressed Mexican friends and their calls for assistance. Her volunour army will answer that call, and with a determination to aid and assist them in establishing their Constitution and their Liberty, they march to victory or the grave. They invite into the ranks all friends to Freedom, of whatever name or nation."

Colonel Fannin, an officer who had already distinguished himself, not only in the field, but, in connection with General Rusk, under special authority given to them for that purpose, had rendered great service in recruiting volunteers for the prostration of the Alamo, appears to have been associated with Colonel Johnson in this expedition; and on the 8th *of January*, a day connected with rousing associations in the minds of all true-hearted Americans, he issued the following notice:

"ATTENTION, VOLUNTEERS!

To the West, face: March!

An expedition to the west has been ordered by the General Council, and the Volunteers from Bexar, Goliad, Velasco, and elsewhere, are ordered to rendezvous at San Patricio, between the 24th and 27th instant, and report to the officer in command. The fleet convoy will sail from Velasco, under my charge, on or about the 18th, and all who feel disposed to join it, and aid in keeping the war out of Texas, and at the same time cripple the enemy in their resources at home, are invited to enter the ranks forthwith.

J. W. Fannin, Jr.

January 8*th*, 1836."

With a view to the execution of this scheme of invasion, most of the soldiers at the San Antonio were withdrawn from that place and thrown into Goliad, on their way to San Patricio, the place of rendezvous. Before they actually took up the line of march for Matamoras, the Government, becoming satisfied of the inexpediency of sending off the only military force of any consequence then in the field, upon a distant expedition, and leaving the whole frontier to the West unguarded against the approach of the enemy, countermanded its previous orders on the subject. Colonel Fannin, in whose lofty and well-balanced mind the principle of obedience to superior authority seems ever to have retained a just ascendancy even over the spirit of military daring (so difficult oftentimes to restrain in its aspiration for the glory arising from the achievement of deeds of gallant emprise), at once relinquished all thought of marching beyond the Rio Grande, and commenced diligent preparations for the reception of Santa Anna. Colonels Grant and Johnson, at the head of about one hundred volunteers, set out for Matamoras, and in a few days suffered a discomfiture, the particulars of which will shortly be noticed. But first the opportunity will be embraced of bringing Colonel Fannin, who is, in a few weeks, to act a very conspicuous part in the war against Centralism, more familiarly to the view of the reader. This gentleman was by birth a Georgian, was regularly educated at the military school of West Point, and was now in the prime and vigour of manhood. Time, which is said to "steal on us, and steal from us," withdrawing "fire from the mind as vigour from the limb," had dealt with this gallant son of the South leniently in all respects, and it may be truly declared, that for him "life's enchanted cup," yet sparkled with undiminished brightness. The subjoined correspondence between Colonel Fannin and the officers of the celebrated Georgia Volunteers, will be found to present the whole character of this interesting personage in a light which precludes the necessity of a more special delineation. Perhaps few will be able to glance over this correspondence without conceiving sentiments of mingled tenderness and admiration for the gallant Hero of Conception; and some may be almost tempted to exclaim,

"He is the noblest Roman of them all."

All the world will certainly be satisfied, when they shall, in addition, peruse the elegant and touching narrative of Captain Shackelford, presently to be brought forward, that Colonel Fannin's whole course in Texas originated "in a general honest thought and common good to all," and sanction what I dare add:

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, *This was a man.*"

"*Address of the Georgia Volunteers.*

To Colonel J. W. Fannin,

Sir,—In compliance with a resolution adopted at a meeting of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Georgia battalion, we beg leave, in the name of that meeting, to tender its unfeigned and heartfelt gratitude for the kindness and cordiality with which you have been pleased to greet us and our companions in arms, upon the shores of Texas. Be assured, Sir, that a welcome from any other source, however kind or respectable, could not have given rise to prouder feelings. As Americans, we hail you as the champion of liberty! As Georgians, we hail you as a brother, and recur with pleasing sensations to the home of our and your nativity; when first we knew and admired you, actuated by that inborn love of liberty, and detestation of tyranny, peculiar to the American character, and recently so eminently developed in you, we paused not to calculate the cost, but with arms in hands, at once resolved to unite with our brethren of Texas, and share their destiny. And although, Sir, it constituted the zenith of our ambition, as the sons of Georgia, to add to the lustre of that bright star in the American confederacy, the honour of having acted a conspicuous part in the cause of suffering Texas, yet we were unconscious of the fact, until since we left home, that our wishes, in that regard, were in a great measure realized, and that Georgia's honour and chivalry stood proudly vindicated in your person. The intelligence met us, and like a beacon of light, at once cheered our hopes, and illuminated our pathway. But, without being unnecessarily tedious, the undersigned beg leave, in conclusion, to assure you, not only in behalf of the meeting we represent, but of the "Georgia battalion," generally, that it is deeply sensible to the kind partiality which you have exhibited for the state we claim to represent, in the advancement which you have been pleased to make of their brethren in arms, to posts of honour and preferment.

Accept, dear Sir, our sincere and heartfelt regard.

William Ward, *Major*,
Warren J. Mitchell, M.D., *Regimental Surgeon*,
W. A. O. Wadsworth, *Captain*,
David L. Holt, *Quarter-Master*,
Henderson Cojart, *Assistant*,
James C. Wynn, *Captain*,
U. J. Bullock, *Captain*.

To Messrs. William Ward, and others, Members of the Committee of the Georgia Battalion.

Gentlemen,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours, conveying to me, in the kindest and most flattering manner, the sentiments of the Georgia battalion.

The welcome I have extended towards you, was one of *duty*, but I must add, also, one of *proud satisfaction.* My heart must cease its pulsations, ere I forget myself a "Georgian," or neglect her warm-hearted patriot sons, in whatever clime we may meet.

The love of *liberty*, with them, is an innate principle, and "grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength." Born, raised, and educated in the school of liberal principles and free institutions, and recognizing no other system of political economy, save that bequeathed to posterity by *Washington*, and more recently inculcated by Jefferson, you have promptly and nobly met *my own* expectations, in marching to their "rescue," in this western wilderness of promise.

In the name, and in behalf of the people of Texas, I greet you as brothers in arms, thrice welcome, because strangers to most of her inhabitants; and owing to your geographical situation, unacquainted with the many advantages it really so eminently possesses, you have left "*home* and its many endearments," to embark in their *cause*, and make it your own.

The days of chivalry are past, but not their recollections. Many a "bold knight" performed "wondrous deeds of arms," in the cause of the "holy cross," and under the most sacred banner. Many were the lances shivered, and rich the blood shed, simply to gratify some proud beauty, and obtain a crown from her fair hand, or some other token of favour.

The *consecration* of the "Georgia battalion," in the cause of Texas, is a striking proof, and carries with it, infallible evidence of their legitimate descent from the true stock of 1770.

The same love of liberty and detestation of tyranny, so boldly exemplified in the sires, is now to be found, and I hope soon to be acted out in the sons. No longer can the questions be asked of me, "Where are your friends? What are they doing for the cause of liberty? Where are your *Georgia volunteers?*" The answer is made by the shrill sound of the fife, the soul-stirring beat of the drum, and the flash of the bright sun on your brighter *arms*.

As a Texan, devoted to the *cause*, all hail! As a Georgian reared in the midst of you, and recurring to the days of "auld lang syne," with a proud and swelling heart, all hail!

Let me say to you, go on in the good work, prospering and to prosper. Prepare yourselves by suitable *discipline*, to withstand the onset of an enemy, and to command respect and admiration for the *Georgia battalion*.

What small distinction I have obtained for myself, and the brave men I have had the honour to command, and to which you so kindly refer, was the result of *discipline*.

It gives confidence, and will *insure success.* Let me entreat you, as one who feels a deep and abiding interest in each and every one of you, to bear in mind this *charge,* and then you will be "*always ready.*" Let me exhort you to look to the past, and remember the "Brazos Guards," and first division of the army of the people, which I have had the honour and good fortune to lead to victory, and profit thereby.

Engage not in the political affairs of Texas; leave those things in the hands of those whose *all is in the soil of the country.* They have reclaimed a wilderness under many of the most disheartening circumstances, and should be permitted to determine for themselves the proper course to pursue.

If you propose a *permanent* settlement in the country, your interests must prosper or decline as theirs do. If you only come to aid in their cause and the rights of man, and intend returning to your families, it would be trifling too much with the right of suffrage. Mistrust any one who attempts, by *whatever means,* to draw you into the vortex of political discussion. A residence of one year, and acceptance of your headright of land, will constitute you a citizen, with all the privileges and immunities of one. To arrogate to yourselves those sacred rights sooner, will be an *indelicacy,* which I fondly hope never to hear attributed to a member of the Georgia battalion.

You all have seen, and must have had cause to regret the effects of party feelings, in our native State. Let me, then, call on you to eschew, by all kind of means, identifying yourselves with any political party in Texas—and with a strong arm in the *common cause,* prove by your valour and conduct in the field, that you are worthy of enjoying the rights you may vindicate and sustain against the mercenary soldiery of the Despot.

Trusting that I soon may have the pleasure of meeting my family, and return to you, and share in the honours and dangers incident to a soldier's life, I must conclude by returning to you, and through you to the Georgia battalion, my most grateful acknowledgments for your kind expression of friendship; and assuring you that, in whatever situation of life I may be cast, this day, with its connecting circumstances, will ever be cherished by your friend and fellow-citizen,

J. W. FANNIN, Jr.

Velasco, December 25th, 1835."

It is time to revert to the course of civic events in Texas. The choice of delegates to the convention expected to assemble in March, was now the subject of much attention, and no little solicitude. The different candidates were called upon formally, through the newspapers, to announce their views upon the grave, and, under all the circumstances, somewhat perplexing question, of *National Independence*. Able gentlemen were found on either side, and the people were also divided in sentiment, though it is true that a large majority was ascertained to be warmly in favour of severing the union of Texas with Mexico at once and for ever. Certain letters, written by General Austin from New Orleans, are acknowledged to have had much effect in fixing the opinions of his fellow-citizens in Texas; declaring, as they were understood to do, the opinions both of himself and his brother Commissioners. I shall, therefore, introduce these letters here, prefacing them with a few editorial remarks from the Telegraph (San Felipe) which accompanied them. "It has never been the object," says the Telegraph, "of this paper, to forestall public opinion, and to crowd upon the people our *own* views in a matter so important as that touching a change of government."

"We have endeavoured to present facts, and public documents, believing that a community composed of Americans would draw just conclusions, and act correctly when in possession of all the evidence. To have advocated a declaration of independence, before understanding the true situation of the Mexican government, and without any assurance of assistance from the United States, would have been a rashness to which others as well as ourselves might have fallen victims. We therefore publish in this week's paper, the proceedings of public meetings, and letters from which our readers can draw their own conclusions as to the course which Texas ought to pursue.

The knowledge which our Commissioners have of the situation of Texas, and the relations which exist between this country and the United States, entitle their opinions, in a question of so much importance as that of independence, to a greater degree of credit than individuals of less opportunity. We understand that they had effected a loan in the city of New Orleans of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but only ten per cent. could be advanced at the time. A letter which we have seen states that the readiness of the citizens of New Orleans to lend so large an amount of money, as well as the lively interest everywhere taken in the United States, for the safety of Texas, leaves the commissioners no longer doubtful what course she ought to take. Few have doubted the right to declare Independence. The expediency of such a measure many as well as ourselves have doubted. The commissioners believe that we shall obtain all the aid we need if we declare Independence, and are united among ourselves. They believe it is pretty clearly shown that the central government of Mexico will be sustained; that all the disposable force and means of the nation will be directed towards Texas; that the power of the liberals is impotent, and can avail us nothing, and that to postpone a separation which self-preservation points out, would be only to put further from us that political prosperity which we might expect from a government formed by ourselves, and adapted to our circumstances. They are, we understand, all of one opinion as to what should be done. Nothing is wanted but *union*, *firmness*, and *energy* at home. Texas now stands high; and they think we should increase her character by a bold stand and not give up one inch of ground, or one step we have made towards Independence."

The letters of General Austin referred to here follow:—

"New Orleans, January 7th, 1836.

To GENERAL SAM. HOUSTON.

Dear Sir:

In all our Texas affairs, as you are well apprised, I have felt it to be my duty to be very cautious in involving the pioneers and actual settlers of that country, by any act of mine, until I was fully and clearly convinced of its necessity, and of the capabilities of our resources to sustain it. Hence it is that I have been censured by some for being over cautious. Where the fate of a whole people is in question, it is difficult to be over cautious, or to be too prudent.

Besides these general considerations, there are others which ought to have weight with me individually. I have been, either directly or indirectly, the cause of drawing many families to Texas, also the situation and circumstances in which I have been placed have given considerable weight to my opinions. This has thrown a heavy responsibility upon me—so much so, that I have considered it to be my *duty* to be prudent, and even to control my own impulses and feelings: these have long been impatient under the state of things which has existed in Texas, and in favour of a speedy and *radical change.* But I have never approved of the course of forestalling public opinion, by party or partial meetings or by management of any kind. The true course is to lay *facts* before the people, and let them judge for themselves. I have endeavoured to pursue this course. A question of vital importance is yet to be decided by Texas, which is *a declaration of Independence.*

When I left there, I was of opinion that it was premature to stir this question, and that we ought to be very cautious of taking any step that would make the Texas war purely a *national war*, which would unite all parties against us, instead of its being a *party* war, which would secure to us the aid of the federal party. In this I acted contrary to my own impulses: for I wish to see Texas *free* from the trammels of religious intolerance, and other anti-republican restrictions; and independent at once; and as an individual, have always been ready to risk my all to obtain it: but I could not feel justifiable in precipitating and involving others until I was fully satisfied that they would be sustained.

Since my arrival here, I have received information which has satisfied me on this subject. I have no doubt we can obtain all, and even much more aid than we need. I now think the time has come for Texas to assert her natural rights; and were I in the Convention I would urge an immediate Declaration of Independence. I form this opinion from the information now before me. I have not heard of any movement in the interior, by the Federal party, in favour of Texas, or of the Constitution; on the contrary, the information from Mexico is that *all parties* are against us, owing to what has already been said and done in Texas, in favour of Independence; and that we have nothing to expect from that quarter but hostility. I am acting on this information, if it be true; and I have no reason to doubt it. Our present position in favour of the Republican principles of the Constitution of 1824, can do us no good; and it is doing us harm, by deterring those kinds of men from joining us, who are most useful. I know not what information you may have in Texas, as to movements of the Federal party in our favour, nor what influence they ought to have on the decision of this question, this being a matter which the Convention alone can determine. I can only say, that with the information now before me, I am in favour of an *immediate Declaration of Independence.*

Santa Anna was at San Luis Potosi, according to the last accounts, marching on rapidly, with a large force against Texas. We must be *united* and *firm*; and look well to the month of March, and be READY. I shall try to be at home by that time. Yours, respectfully,

S. F. Austin.

January 8, 1836.

This day we concluded a conditional loan for two hundred thousand dollars, which perhaps may be augmented fifty thousand more; we can only get 10 per cent. advanced now, which is all we can raise at present in this place. Houston and Wharton will commence their purchases to-morrow. Flour is eight dollars; but we shall send about seven hundred barrels, two hundred of bread, and some beans.

Should a Declaration of Independence be made, there ought to be no limits prescribed on the south-west or north-west; the field should be left open for extending beyond the Rio Grande, and to Chihuahua and New Mexico.

S. F. A."

Copy of a Letter to Col. D. C. Barrett.

"New Orleans, January 17, 1836.

Dear Sir,—Texas stands high all over this country. We have effected a loan for *two hundred thousand dollars*, and expect to procure another for 40 or 50,000. The enclosed contract contains the terms of the first loan; it will no doubt be ratified by the Convention as stipulated. The credit and prospects of the country will be totally ruined if it is not. The last news from Vera Cruz and Tampico is, that the Federal Party had united with Santa Anna against Texas. This leaves us but one course, which is an absolute Declaration of Independence. Such a measure is expected and called for by the people of the United States, from one end of this union to the other. We could not have obtained the loan here except on the firm belief by the lenders that a Declaration of Independence would be made in March next by the Convention.

The negotiation that is now pending for another loan has been embarrassed by a rumour that there has been a mob at San Felipe to destroy the government, and restore the old state of things under Coahuila and Texas. I do not believe there has been any such thing. Texas must be united and act together and in harmony, and never recede one inch. It may, perhaps, be necessary to stop and rest awhile on the way, but never to retrace our political march. It must be *forward*. The country has rested a short time under the Declaration of 7th November, in order to look around and gain a little more strength and a little more information as to the road yet to be travelled over—and we are now ready for another move and a final one. Whatever difference of opinion there may have been as to the *time* for this move, I hope there will be none now. The whole nation of all parties are against us; they have left us but one remedy—*INDEPENDENCE.* It is now necessary as a measure of self-defence. The United States, as a people, are ready to sustain it—we shall sink in their estimation if we do not adopt it.

My health is greatly improved. I wish it had been as good in Texas—I should then have been more active and followed my own impulses and judgment, both of which are sufficiently indicated by my communications of 30th November, 2d December, and letter to you about that time.

I shall try to be at home by the first week in March and preach Independence. Yours, respectfully,

S. F. Austin."

It will be impossible, in the compass allotted to the present work, to attend upon the Commissioners to the United States along the whole course of their interesting journey through this Republic, and it is unnecessary to declare here, what is already known to the world, that they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner to fulfil the duties of their mission, and were successful to an extent possibly beyond their own expectations at setting out. I cannot refrain, though, from presenting, in this place, a few extracts from the very able address delivered by General Austin in the City of Louisville, as it places the Texan struggle for Independence upon its true grounds, and states several views, worthy of present and future regard both in Texas and in the United States. The concluding portion of the address alluded to, is as follows:

"Another interesting question which naturally occurs to every one, is, what great benefits and advantages are to result to philanthropy and religion, or to the people of these United States from the emancipation of Texas? To this we reply, that ours is most truly and emphatically the cause of liberty, which is the cause of philanthropy, of religion, of mankind; for in its train follow freedom of conscience, pure morality, enterprise, the arts and sciences, all that is dear to the noble-minded and the free, all that renders life precious. On this principle, the Greeks and the Poles, and all others who have struggled for liberty, have received the sympathies or aid of the people of the United States; on this principle, the liberal party in priest-ridden Spain is now receiving the aid of high-minded and free-born Englishmen; on this same principle, Texas expects to receive the sympathies and aid of their brethren, the people of the United States, and of the freemen of all nations. But the Greeks and the Poles are not parallel cases with ours—they are not the sons and daughters of Anglo-Americans. We are. We look to this happy land as to a fond mother from whose bosom we have imbibed those great principles of liberty which are now nerving us, although comparatively few in numbers and weak in resources, to contend against the whole Mexican nation in defence of our rights.

"The emancipation of Texas will extend the principles of self-government over a rich and neighbouring country, and open a vast field there for enterprise, wealth, and happiness, and for those who wish to escape from the frozen blasts of a northern climate, by removing to a more congenial one. It will promote and accelerate the march of the present age, for it will open a door through which a bright and constant stream of light and intelligence will flow from this great northern fountain, over the benighted regions of Mexico.

"That nation of our continent will be regenerated; freedom of conscience and rational liberty will take root in that distant, and, by nature, much favoured land, where for ages past the upas banner of the inquisition, of intolerance, and of despotism, has paralyzed, and sickened, and deadened every effort in favour of civil and religious liberty.

"But apart from these great principles of philanthropy, and narrowing down this question to the contracted limits of cold and prudent political calculation, a view may be taken of it which doubtless has not escaped the penetration of the sagacious and cautious politicians of the United States. It is the great importance of *Americanising* Texas, by filling it with a population from this country, who will harmonize in language, in political education, in common origin, in everything, with their neighbours to the east and north. By this means, Texas will become a great outwork on the west, to protect the outlet of this western world, the mouths of the Mississippi, as Alabama and Florida are on the east; and to keep far away from the south-western frontier—the weakest and most vulnerable in the nation—all enemies who might make Texas a door for invasion, or use it as a theatre from which mistaken philanthropists and wild fanatics might attempt a system of intervention in the domestic concerns of the south, which might lead to a servile war, or at least jeopardise the tranquillity of Louisiana and the neighbouring states.

"This view of the subject is a very important one, so much so that a bare allusion to it is sufficient, to direct the mind to the various interests and results, immediate and remote, that are involved.

"To conclude, I have shown that our cause is just and righteous, that it is the great cause of mankind, and as such merits the approbation and moral support of this magnanimous and free people. That our object is Independence, as a new republic, or to become one of the states of these United States; that our resources are sufficient to sustain the principles we are defending: that the results will be the promotion of the great cause of liberty, of philanthropy, and religion, and the protection of a great and important interest to the people of these United States.

"With these claims to the approbation and moral support of the free of all nations, the people of Texas have taken up arms in self-defence, and they submit their cause to the judgment of an impartial world, and to the protection of a just and omnipotent God."

The first day of March came on, and the Convention assembled in the Town of Washington. Richard Ellis was chosen President of the body. On the second day of its session, a Declaration of Independence was adopted, and by the 17th of March a National Constitution was framed and signed. Before this task was fairly executed, as will hereafter appear, the army of Santa Anna, all along anticipated, had advanced beyond the frontier, and the whole country was thrown into confusion by its movements. The concluding scene in the hall of the Convention will be described in due season. In the meantime, the occurrences which had transpired in the West will be narrated.

The earliest information of the approach of Santa Anna to the confines of Texas, was transmitted by Colonel Fannin from Goliad, where that active officer had been engaged ever since his arrival, in endeavouring to prepare the frontier to resist the expected invading army. The express sent by Colonel Fannin from Goliad, set out from that place on the 9th of February, and arrived at San Felipe de Austin on the 11th or 12th of the month. The subjoined letter of Colonel Fannin to the government cannot fail to be read with interest, and will serve to show the extraordinary energy of that officer, and the solicitude which he felt that proper measures should be taken by others to put the country in readiness to meet the approaching crisis. The "enclosed express," alluded to in his communication, was from Major Robert Morris, one of those who have been mentioned as having gone out, with Colonels Grant and Johnson, on the expedition to Matamoras. Major Morris gave notice that one thousand Mexican soldiers were on the Rio Frio; that another thousand were near the Rio Grande, and that "forces were gathering in all directions for the invasion of Texas." He farther stated that it was believed that an attack would be immediately made on "Goliad and Bexar simultaneously;" and mentioned, in addition, that Santa Anna was in the neighbourhood of the Rio Grande, in person, actively pushing on his forces, though he had caused a report to be put in circulation that he was still in Matamoras. The letter of Colonel Fannin accompanying this communication was as follows:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY J. W. ROBINSON, AND GENERAL COUNCIL.

Mission of Refugio, February 7th, 10 o'clock, P. M.

I have to communicate to you, and through you to the people of Texas, the enclosed express just received from the advance Division of the volunteer army.

You will readily discover the great difference between this information and that contained in my report of the 3d instant. The first was then supposed to be entitled to credit, and accordingly made the subject of a communication;—I cannot now question the correctness of the last. Not the least doubt should any longer be entertained, by any friend of Texas, of the design of Santa Anna to overrun the country, and expel or exterminate every white man within its borders. May I be permitted to ask of them in sober earnestness, "Why halt ye between two opinions?" Your soil is again to be polluted by the footsteps of the hirelings of an unprincipled Despot! Will the freemen of Texas calmly fold their arms, and await until the approach of their deadly enemy compels them to protect their own firesides? Can it be possible that they—that any American—can so far forget the honour of their mothers, wives, and daughters, as not to fly to their rifles, and march to meet the Tyrant, and avenge the insults and wrongs inflicted on his own country-women on the Rio Grande? What can be expected for the *fair daughters* of chaste *white women*, when their own country-women are prostituted by a licensed soldiery, as an inducement to push forward into the Colonies, where they may find *fairer game?*

The question would seem to be useless; but when I tell you, that out of more than four hundred men at and near this post, I doubt if twenty-five citizens of Texas can be mustered in the ranks—nay, I am informed, whilst writing the above, that there is not half that number;—does not this fact bespeak an indifference, and criminal apathy, truly alarming? We calculate upon the service of our volunteer friends, to aid in the defence and protection of our soil. Do the citizens of Texas reflect for a moment, that these men, many of whom have served since November last, have not received the first *cent's wages*, and are now nearly naked, and many of them barefooted, or what is tantamount to it? Could they hear the just complaints and taunting remarks in regard to the *absence* of the old settlers and owners of the soil, and total neglect in the officers of the Government, not providing them with even the necessaries of life, this our main stay would not be so confidently relied on! Will you allow me to recommend the issuing of *general orders*, to be sent by express to every part of Texas, commanding the civic militia, under their present organization, to turn out, and march forthwith to the seat of war? At the same time call upon all volunteers to do the same, taking care to apprise our friends in the United States of our true situation, that a sufficient inducement may be held out to draw them to our standard, in this hour of trial. It is generally believed in the United States that the war is over, and indeed our own citizens seem to have indulged the same hope. We are now undeceived, and unless a turn out *in mass* be made, and that speedily, the force now in the field cannot keep the invaders in check long enough to prevent the fury of the war's being felt in the heart of the country—if ever Santa Anna crosses the Guadaloupe with 5,000 men, we have to fight east of the Brazos, if not the Trinity! I feel certain that, even in that event, his army would inevitably perish or surrender. But, should we not prevent such a dreadful catastrophe, and rally, to the rescue, every freeman of Texas? Evince your determination to live free or perish in the ditch.

In order to provide for the wants of the men, appoint contractors, and have established on the different routes west, depôts, for beef, cattle, salt, &c., and such provisions as may be obtained, that the men may be pushed forward without delay, to such points as may be deemed most exposed. In the mean time, I would respectfully recommend such measures be taken, as to form a corps of reserve on Colorado, at or between Bastrop and Gonzales, and also the Navidad and La Baca, in order to protect the settlers, and cover the advance, in case an enemy with a superior force should leave them in the rear, and march forward, calculating much upon our weakness and unprepared state of defence, and expecting much from our inexperience and division of forces, which might be dispersed in detail, and leave the country an easy prey to the arch-Tyrant.

It is useless to controvert the fact that our true strength and geographical situation are well known to Santa Anna.

This expedition against Texas has long since been determined by Santa Anna; and Colonel Almonte was sent to Texas for the express purpose of ascertaining these facts, which you will see from his report he faithfully executed. In order to meet all the exigencies, allow me to urge you not to permit too many cavalry. But few horsemen will be requisite on the west side of Guadaloupe; and experience has convinced me that the service will not be promoted by having any number of them: and extensive frauds, practised upon the government, in remunerating the owners for property never lost or destroyed in the service, and not unfrequently sold several times, on private account.

February 8, seven o'clock, A. M.

May I also urge the immediate necessity of causing suitable floating bridges, or boats, at *private pass-ways*, across all streams to the east of Guadaloupe calculated to stop the retreat of our forces, should it be our unfortunate lot to be compelled to make one. This would at the same time secure the easy passage of our reinforcements, provisions, arms, &c. &c. It cannot be attended to, too soon, and I doubt not but the patriotic citizens, who have remained at home, will turn out readily and perform the work.

I must also urge upon you the absolute necessity of providing coarse clothing, shoes, &c., for the troops first in the field, and the forwarding forthwith, powder, lead, &c. We have enough for the present force, for a short time, and the rise of 500 new muskets brought down by me from Brazos, which will be distributed to those capable of bearing arms and entering our ranks.

I have not yet heard from the Bar, of the arrival of Col. Wharton, but trust I may to-day or to-morrow, and have pilots below in order to bring them up. I have sent forward a reinforcement to San Patricio, to bring off the artillery and order a concentration of the troops at Goliad, and shall make such disposition of my forces as to sustain Bexar and that post, and keep up a communication with the colonies. In the mean time, I would recommend that some government officer be sent to La Baca, to receive and forward stores, &c., and that point be selected for the present as our principal depôt. I would also urge the immediate removal of all the artillery from Bexar not requisite to the defence of that post.

Such orders have already been issued to Colonel Neil, or rather such recommendations, provided he could procure the necessary teams. I now feel authorized to give orders to that effect, and shall forward an express to him this day.

In conclusion, let me implore you to lose no time and spare no expense in spreading these tidings throughout Texas, and ordering out the militia "*in mass.*" Spare us, in God's name, from elections in camp; organize at home, and march forward in order, and good may result from it.

I have barely time to say that an election was holden on yesterday for Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, and that myself and Major Ward received nearly a unanimous vote. The returns have not yet been handed in, or I should make a report of it.

Do let me hear from you *often*, and know what is doing for us—even though *nothing*, it is best for our own safety, and the ultimate security of the country, to know it at once, and provide for the exigencies, while we may.

Look well to our coast: now is the time to use our small navy, and that to advantage; and unless soon afloat, we may fear the worst.

In haste, I have the honour to subscribe myself, with sentiments of high consideration,

Your obedient servant,
J. W. Fannin, Jr., *Col. Com't.*"

Colonel Fannin seems to have written to the government about this period, almost every day; many of his letters are long, and enter into a specification of his minutest operations. These letters, of themselves, would form a considerable volume. The reader, therefore, will not expect to see them here. They bear evidence upon their face of the most surprising industry, and a persevering zeal, amidst the most harassing circumstances, seldom equalled, and certainly never surpassed by any officer. It is presumed that the following extracts will be read with satisfaction. In a letter of the 14th of February, occupying several pages, addressed to the acting Governor, he says: —"Upon the documents I have sent you and Council, are you satisfied with my course? Tell me candidly; for I will be truly obliged to be fully apprized of your and their views. I am not, *practically*, an experienced commander, and may, and in all human probability have, erred. I do not desire any command, and particularly that of chief. I *feel*, I *know*, if you and the Council do not, that I am incompetent. Fortune, and brave soldiers, may favour me and save the State, and establish for me a reputation far beyond my deserts. I do not covet, and I do most earnestly ask of you, and any *real friend*, to relieve me, and make a selection of one possessing all the requisites of a commander. If General Houston will give up *all other considerations*, and devote himself to the military, I honestly believe he will answer the present emergency. I would probably fill the post your kindness conferred on me, and might not disgrace your arms. I ask of you all, not to obtrude my name or rank upon the approaching Convention; for I would feel truly happy to be in the bosom of my family, and rid of the burden imposed on me. I did not ask my present station, and the Provisional Government, expiring, will give me an honourable chance to retire. Not having discredited myself or the Texan army, I can do so without reproach. * * * * * * *Write to me often, and freely.* Give me the news from the United States, and our Commissioners, for on them and their report, I rely mainly. *Kick at the moon, whether we hit the mark or not.* Send me all the domestic and foreign news; and, above all things, send us *men, provisions,* and *ammunition.* Have wagons, teams, &c., forwarded. *Haste is requisite.* * * * * * * Correct me, if wrong. I am *at present a public servant.*"

On the same day, (February 14,) he wrote a still longer letter, in which he acknowledged the reception of stores, and promised to transmit a portion of the same immediately to Bexar. He furnishes additional intelligence as to the movements of the enemy, in this second letter, and says, among many other things:—"I should not urge our situation so strenuously upon you, and, through you, upon the *whole people of Texas,* but that I feel persuaded that a large portion of them believe the *war at an end,* and that we have nothing now to do, but dictate the terms of peace, settle down upon our own form of government, and squabble for high places and higher salaries. * * * * * * Is it wise, (he continues,) to lay at home, and do nothing to improve the advantage already miraculously obtained, when one week's, or one day's, work, well and vigorously directed by a bold and skilful general, (and Santa Anna must be acknowledged one,) would not only destroy them all, but sacrifice the brave volunteers now in the field, and probably jeopardize the safety of Texas? If this apathy continues, we can never long hope for the aid of volunteers; and I am certain we will not be worthy of the protecting Ægis of the Gods; and if we lose both, then, indeed, is our chance hopeless.

In my last, by Captain Tarleton, I informed you, that I could find but some half dozen citizens of Texas in my ranks, and I regret to say that it is yet the case. There is great complaint, which, though just, I find but little difficulty in assuaging at present; there being a reasonable prospect of *speedy action.* This is life to a volunteer army, and though many, very many are really *naked,* and quite *barefoot,* and, until my arrival here, had eaten no *bread* for some time, (and a prospect of being out before I could get it from Demit,) I am proud to say that they manifested willingness, nay, an anxiety to meet the foe, and despoil him of his honours and illustrious deeds, won at Tampico, and more recently acted out in the unfortunate fall of Zacatecas. They look to the people of Texas, *en masse*, to embody and march to the rescue. Shall they be disappointed? * * * I have told them they need not fear, and that soon, we should have in the field, and *near* at hand too, a Texan army to assert their rights, and hurl defiance at the tyrant and his minions. Will your examine a map of the country, &c.? * * * * * * You see their preparation, and I only ask of you, my countrymen, not to undervalue the danger, and prepare to meet it *at the threshold*. Do not expect to meet such officers or soldiers as were most of them at Bexar. It will be admitted that part of the soldiers there were as good as could be found in any ranks, and their officers, in most instances, have proved themselves brave and akilful. The present preparation is *doubly* more imposing in numbers, artillery, equipage, &c., than that against the State of Zacatecas. Let us seriously go to work, then, and adopt some *plan of a campaign* to meet it, and that *successfully*. As a general one, suggested by prudence, and to insure the ultimate safety of the colonies, allow me to advise your pushing forward to Bejar and this post, from a thousand to fifteen hundred men each, allowing from six hundred to one thousand for *fort use*, and the remainder well-mounted cavalry, each man having a *double-barrelled* shot-gun, four pistols, and swords,—if to be had. In the mean time, have organized in the rear of Guadaloupe and Colorado Forts, Corps of *Reserve* of the like number. Should it then be advisable to fall back, a junction might be affected, before cavalry and artillery, without much loss, and a stand made at some suitable place, to check a farther advance. Another reason why the Corps of Reserve should be formed, and that *speedily*, is, that with the immense preparations of the enemy, of two thousand pack-mules, with bread *alone*, and twenty-four pieces of artillery, the enemy may purpose passing round the posts before mentioned, leaving us in the rear, and calculating much upon our undisciplined and unprepared state, as well as the fewness of our forces, which he knows as well as we do, push the war into the heart of the country. The panic which such a step would be seen to create, would be such that two-thirds of the people would be flying with their families and such property as could be run to some place of safety to the east. I am well aware that it is not usual to leave the fortress of an enemy in the rear, but it has been done, and may be done again. I should be truly glad to see it done now, provided I had certain intelligence that we had a force in the field able to dispute each inch of ground in front, whilst those *carelessly* left in the rear, would prevent retreat, and soon compel him to surrender. In the mean time, establish places for the collection of provisions, &c. at suitable stages apart, in order that forces may be forwarded to any given point without unnecessary delay. * * *

I am about to have this place strengthened, by building one or more block-houses, picketing, ditching, and filling in with earth, stone, &c., and mounting necessary Artillery for its defence. Only give us 20 days' time to perform all the work laid out, and then provisions for our stomachs, arms, ammunition, &c., and it will be no easy matter to take this place. * * * * * * *

I hope soon to receive some intelligence from General Houston, and to see him at the head of the army. I am delicately situated, not having received any orders from him, or from your Excellency. I am well aware, that during the General's furlough, the command naturally, and of right, devolves upon me; but the fact has not been communicated to me *officially*, either by the General or the Governor. The steps I have taken, are those of prudence, and for defence, and would be allowable as Colonel of the volunteers, &c. May I ask for orders, and a regular communication from you, that I may be fully apprised of what is doing for us? *I will obey orders, if I am sacrificed in the discharge of them*; but if you are unable to afford us reasonable aid, and that in time, it would be best to destroy everything and *fall back*. I, *however, hope better things*, &c. &c."

Colonel Fannin received a communication from Lieutenant Governor Robinson, about this time, stating the desire of the Council that he "should not make any *retrograde movement*;" but still authorizing him to be "governed by circumstances;" and moreover assuring him, that every thing should be done, in the power of the government, "to sustain him and his army in the field."

On the 16th of February, those intrusted with the management of public affairs received the following communication from Colonel Fannin, which is inserted at length, as containing information of the most momentous importance.

"Head Quarters, Army of Texas, Fort Goliad, Feb. 16, 1836.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, J. W. ROBINSON, AND GENERAL COUNCIL.

Since my communication of the 14th inst., enclosing several documents, received from various sources, from the interior, in relation to the movements of Santa Anna, Mr. Pantallion and young Mr. Kuykendall have arrived here, only five days from Matamoras. Both of these gentlemen are known to me, and likewise to most of the people of middle Texas; and their statements, confirming in the smallest particular my former intelligence, may be confidently relied on.

As those gentlemen will visit San Felipe, and can communicate fully with you, I will not go into a detailed account of the facts, &c., collected from them, but only draw your attention to the *plan* of the intended campaign against Texas.

It is designed to enter our country in three divisions —

one to take Bexar, commanded by Generals Sesma, Filisola, and Cos — one against Goliad, under Urea, (recently Governor of Durango,) and Colonel Garay—the third under Santa Anna himself, to pass either above Bexar, or between that post and Goliad, and proceed directly into the heart of the colony, and there to fortify.

I understand the General says he will not go into the woods and swamps to find us, and fight us, but proceed through open prairies to the centre of Texas, and immediately fortify, and let us come to him, and make the best fight we can, or that he will allow us. I only say to this, Amen—*so might it be.* Send from twelve to fifteen hundred men to Bexar immediately, and provisions plenty, and anywhere from five to eight hundred here, with like stores; and then a *reserve* army on the Colorado, to salute the General with a *feu de joie*, and then all will be well.

I tell you, and must urge it upon you for the safety and protection of the families of the colonists, to go about getting this reserve organized. Guard well Bastrop, Gonzales, and some lower point on the Colorado, and have it so arranged that all the forces may be concentrated in two days, to defend the point selected to pass. Get your artillery ready, and have good teams, and high up the country some heavy pieces in your train. He expects to cover his troops with his artillery, and has a large train. The militia from the east can form the corps of reserve, while those nearer here can be pushed on forthwith to Bexar and this place.

Stir up the people, but do not allow them to come into camp unless *organized.* I never wish to see an election in a camp where I am responsible in any manner. I have taken measures to forward provisions to Bexar, and forwarded orders there to-day to place that post in a state of defence, which if attended to will make it safe.

If General Houston does not return to duty on the expiration of his furlough, and it meets your approbation, I shall make head quarters at Bexar, and take with me such of the force as can be spared.

I hope to have this place well secured by the time I can hear from you. If I do not go to Bexar, I would prefer the reserve army, and think I could do some service. In this, however, do with me, while a public servant, as you deem best. Bexar and Guadaloupe, and Colorado, I think will be the posts of danger and honour.

A *cross of honour* and a pension of *four dollars* a month have been awarded to the hero and his men who defended Tampico, agreeably to rank; and the same pension to all who aid in expelling us from Texas. Provisions are very scarce in Matamoras and the adjoining country, and they must depend upon New Orleans. Where is your *navy?* Stop those ports, and they are ruined.

Go ahead—rely on yourselves, and the arms of your men. No aid need be expected from Mexicans. I will make a full and complete return of all matters between this and the 22d, and hope something good. Nothing certain from Johnson & Co. The artillery is on the way up here. Nothing from Colonel Wharton & Co.

I am your obedient servant,
J. W. Fannin, Jr., *Colonel*."

On the 21st of February, he writes to the Lieutenant-Governor: "It affords me some little satisfaction to discover that you have so promptly met my expectations, and taken the first sure steps yet taken to force the militia to the field. But you will allow me to say, I am yet a sceptic, and do not calculate to see any considerable force in the field, until those already there are either sacrificed, or forced to make a retrograde movement. Do not believe, for a moment, that I have any such idea at present, or ever had. * * * * I am fortifying here, so as to make the place tenable for a reasonable force. * * * * I have caused a trench to be dug five feet from the old wall, and picketed in, and, four feet from that, another ditch, six feet wide, and four deep, to fill in from the picketing to the wall—and Artillery placed to defend it, &c.; also one new block-house, and old ones enlarged and strengthened; also one masked battery with old gun-barrels, &c.; lastly, though not the least important, a new sally-port to water, and a ditch from it to a natural ravine, into which I can back the water, and have my men entirely covered from the walls to water, which *never can be cut off*. This will all be completed, and nine pieces of Artillery mounted by 'the Ides of March.' * * * I have caused the Old Priest, and thirteen soldiers, including one lieutenant, (who belonged to Captain Saverago's company) and who have been making their brags, *sending their couriers*, &c. to be made prisoners, and forward a roll of names, tender of service, &c. I will forward them all soon, and refer you to Colonel James Powers for particulars. All I shall say is, secure well all prisoners, and suffer none to go on parole. *This man of God* is the blackest of old villains,—a murderer, adulterer, &c., and his influence is almost unbounded. I hope you will soon release me from the army, at least as an officer. But whilst I am in command, both private and public enemies shall be attended to. There is more danger from these spies, who are so intimately acquainted with the country, than from twenty times the number of armed soldiers. I again tell you, we must not rely on Mexicans. It would be a fatal delusion. Give us a flag *to fight under*, as unlike theirs as possible. We need one, and have nothing to make it of, and hope the Convention will furnish a *new* one, in time to hoist it in defiance of Santa Anna. Do send some money, and clothes, and shoes, for the soldiers." He adds, in a note to this letter, "In relieving guard yesterday, the corporal marched off *bare-footed*. Many of the men are so near naked, that only certain parts of their body are covered. I will send you *the Padre*, to officiate as your chaplain, during the Convention."

The next of Colonel Fannin's letters to the government which I feel called upon to notice, is one written on the

22d of February; which he commences thus: "You will pardon me for not giving you more of my time, when I tell you that I have too much to do, to suffer me to copy even my communications. I have been greatly troubled to get my militia to work or do any kind of garrison duty: but I am now happy to say, that I have got them quite well satisfied, and being well-*disciplined*, and doing *good work*. The fortress will be completely regulated by 3d *March*—and in anticipation, I have *this day*, christened it Fort *Defiance*. We had a *Lottery*, placing *Milam*, *Defiance*, and *Independence* in the wheel: when Defiance was drawn out. It was objected to Milam, that *Bexar* should receive the honour of being called after him, as his *bones* are there; and *Independence* it was thought, would look like army dictation. Dame Fortune settled the matter for us, and Defiance it is.

I am critically situated. General Houston is absent on furlough, and neither myself nor army have received any *orders* as to who should assume the command. It is my *right*; and, in many respects, I have done so, where I was convinced the public weal required it. I well know that many men of influence view me with an envious eye, and either desire my station, or my disgrace. The *first*, they are welcome to—and many thanks for taking it off my hands. The second will be harder to effect. Will you allow me to say to you, and my friends of the *old* or *new* Convention, that I am not desirous of retaining the present, or receiving any other appointment in the army? I did not seek, in any manner, the one I hold, and, you well know, had resolved not to accept—and but for Colonel Barnet and Clements, and Kerr, would have declined. I am a better judge of my military abilities than others, and if I am *qualified* to command an *Army*, I *have not found it out*. I well know I am a better *company* officer than most men *now* in Texas, and *might* do with *Regulars*, &c., for a *Regiment*. But this does not constitute me a commander.

I also *conscientiously* believe that we have *none fit* for it now in the country;—at least their talents have not been developed. With such as have been in the field since October, I do not fear comparison. But this is not the thing. I think you can get several first-rate officers from the United States. Do not cherish the hope of getting an officer now in service there with *subaltern* appointments. If you make offers of any such, give the *field-offices* at once, *no matter who is left out*. In organizing the army, do *not* say that the Major General *shall* be *Commander-in-Chief*. It may be necessary to appoint some such man as *Carrol* or *Ripley*, and no Major-General in Texas ought to complain of having *such* men raised over him. *Leave room* that it *can* be done, if an opportunity offer, and necessity requires it. I would recommend a War Bureau, and an experienced, energetic man at the head of it. *Guard* well the *Constitution*, and avoid such parts of that of the United States as have caused so much contention, and given *rise* to such various constructions. *Secure all kinds of property*, and invite the *cotton* and *sugar-grower* into your country. The *right of suffrage* and the *Judiciary* will have your especial care, and I hope will be strictly attended to. Will you allow me to call your attention to some young men, the *best qualified* men I have *ever* seen in Texas, Captains Wm. G. Cook, and N. R. Brister, both of the New Orleans Greys—John S. Brooks, and Joseph M. Chadwell, who have each served since the 24th of December, as Adjutant and Sergeant-Major,—*decidedly* the best officers I know of, having received a Military education, and each of some *experience;* also, Joseph Cardle and Thomas Barton, the *first* a regular graduate at the Point, and *nine* years in U. S. Army; the latter, seven years in U. S. Marines, and wishes to be in Artillery, if possible; also, Lieut. Hugh McLeod, *U. S. Army*, now waiting at Fort Jesup, and his horse ready and resignation written, and did once start. * * * * * If my family get in, I should like to join them. * * * After near eighteen months' absence, nothing but dire necessity can keep me from my wife and children. Write me, and tell me how you get on. What from Archer, Austin and Co., &c.?"

A day or two after this last letter, Colonel Fannin received intelligence of the actual advance of the enemy to the neighbourhood of the Texan boundary. Colonels Johnson and Grant, in the vicinage of San Patricio, encountered the van of the right division of the invading army, and nearly their whole company were cut off. Of this unhappy mischance, Colonel Johnson, who, with two or three others, were the only survivors, brought the first tidings. It was on the first of March that Colonel Fannin wrote to the Governor and Council of Texas, thus:—"I am pleased to inform you of the arrival, last night, of Colonel Johnson, Messrs. Tone, Toler, and Miller, who were so fortunate as to escape from San Patricio. They can give no information as to the remainder of their companions, except of Mr. Beck, who also escaped, and is below. * * * * * * From all I can learn, we have to play a desperate game, on both sides: life, liberty, and property—the honour of our families and ancestors on the one;—a Throne and Power Supreme on the other. Much larger preparations have been made, and are making, (than expected) to insure the conquest and expulsion of every man who speaks the English language, from Mexican soil. * * * * * General Ramirez Sezma has command of the division approaching, or already in, Texas, and probably in Bexar. I have not sufficient information as to who comes here, or as to number, or time of approach. * * * * Some troops are approaching from Laredo, the advance of which we suppose to be the party who attacked and routed our countrymen at San Patricio. I am now pretty well prepared to make battle. I have nearly completed my fortifications, and have beef enough for twenty days, and will have more. I hope soon to have coffee, clothing, and some ammunition.

I learn from several sources, that as soon as Bexar is retaken, they next march here, and thus complete their chain of communication to the Interior and Gulf. I am resolved to await your orders, let the consequence be what it may. But I say to you, candidly, and without the fear of Mexican arms, that unless the people of Texas, forthwith, turn out in mass, agreeably to my plan of the 8th ult., those *now* in the field will be sacrificed, and the battles that should be fought *here*, will be fought East of the Brassos, and probably the Trinity. I should be pleased to have one more express from Washington, and if we are not to be sustained in a proper manner, and in good time, receive orders to fall back to the Provisions, and on the Colonies, and *let us all go together*. I again repeat to you, that I consider myself bound to await your orders. I cannot, in a military point of view, be considered now as *acting* commander-in-chief, as I have never received orders to that effect, nor has the army. Again, I received *furlough* to the first of April. Again, I am the chosen Commander of this Regiment of Volunteers. Lastly, I have orders from you *not* to make a *retrograde movement*, but to await orders and reinforcements. If a large force gets here, and in possession of the provisions and stores of Matagorda Bay, *being all now in Texas*, it will be a desperate game for us all. I would, therefore, urge the adoption of such measures as may secure them, and *without delay*. I have no doubt the enemy at Bexarare already apprized of their location; and knowing our weakness, and want of cavalry, may, and I fear will, make a dash between us and Provisions, and secure them. * * * * If * * * *, I am desirous to be erased from the list of officers, or expectants of office, and have leave to bring off my *brave foreign volunteers*, in the best manner I may be able. If we should fail in the effort, and fall a sacrifice to the criminal indifference, cold and unpardonable apathy and neglect of * * * * *, there are people, * * * * * * who will bestow censure where it is due, and, peradventure, drop a tear over our memory." In a note to this letter, he says:—"Santa Anna has not, and cannot bring here exceeding five thousand men, unless he obtain aid from the South, which it is believed he cannot do. If a *general turn out* be made, we can make a *clear turn*, and then sow and reap our grain in quiet, and rid the world of a tyrant." In a second note, he says:—"I have 420 men, and as many *spare* muskets, but no men to back them."

Such was the condition of Goliad at the opening of the spring; "the Ides of March had come, but had not passed away." The situation of Bexar was still more unfortunate. The gallant Colonel Neill, then in command at that post, had announced to the government, on the 14th of January, various particulars which led him to believe that an attack upon that fortress was contemplated by the enemy, and strongly urged that something should be done to enable him to meet the threatened danger. He concluded his letter thus: "I shall not again make application for aid, as considering it superfluous; but wait the result of either receiving aid, or an attack before it shall arrive, in which latter case I will do the best I can, with the small force I have."

The following alarming communication was received at San Felipe, on the 27th of February, from the heroic Colonel Travis, then in authority at Bexar.

"TO THE PEOPLE IN TEXAS, AND ALL AMERICANS IN THE WORLD.

Commandancy of the Alamo, Bejar, Feb. 24, 1836.

Fellow-citizens and compatriots,—

I am besieged by a thousand or more of the Mexicans, under Santa Anna. I have sustained a continual bombardment and cannonade for twenty-four hours, and have not lost a man. The enemy have demanded a surrender at discretion, otherwise the garrison is to be put to the sword, if the fort is taken. I have answered the summons [illegible] a cannon-shot, and our flag still waves proudly from the walls.

I shall never surrender or retreat: then I call on you, in the name of Liberty, of Patriotism, and of every thing dear to the American character, to come to our aid with all despatch. The enemy are receiving reinforcements daily, and will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. Though this call may be neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible, and die like a soldier, who never forgets what is due to his own honour and that of his country. *Victory or Death!*

W. Barret Travis,
Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding.

P. S. The Lord is on our side. When the enemy appeared in sight, we had not three bushels of corn. We have since found, in deserted houses, eighty or ninety bushels, and got into the walls twenty or thirty head of beeves.

T."

The next communication from Colonel Travis was dated March 3d, and was as follows:

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION.

Commandancy of the Alamo, Bejar, March 3, 1836.

Sir,—In the present confusion of the political authorities of the country, and in the absence of the commander-in-chief, I beg leave to communicate to you the situation of this garrison. You have doubtless already seen my official report of the action of the 25th ult., made on that day to General Sam. Houston, together with the various communications heretofore sent by express. I shall, therefore, confine myself to what has transpired since that date.

From the 25th to the present date, the enemy have kept up a bombardment from two howitzers, (one a five and a half inch, and the other an eight inch,) and a heavy cannonade from two long nine-pounders, mounted on a battery on the opposite side of the river, at the distance of four hundred yards from our walls. During this period, the enemy have been busily employed in encircling us with intrenched encampments on all sides, at the following distances, to wit,—in Bexar, four hundred yards west; in Lavilleta, three hundred yards south; at the powder-house, one thousand yards east by south; on the ditch, eight hundred yards north-east; and at the old mill, eight hundred yards north. Notwithstanding all this, a company of thirty-two men from Gonzales, made their way into us on the morning of the 1st inst. at three o'clock, and Col. J. B. Bonham (a courier from Gonzales) got in this morning at eleven o'clock, without molestation. I have so fortified this place, that the walls are generally proof against cannon-balls; and I still continue to intrench on the inside, and strengthen the walls by throwing up the dirt. At least two hundred shells have fallen inside of our works without having injured a single man; indeed, we have been so fortunate as not to lose a man from any cause, and we have killed many of the enemy. The spirits of my men are still high, although they have had much to depress them. We have contended for ten days against an enemy whose numbers are variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to six thousand men, with Gen. Ramirez Sezma and Col. Bartres, the aid-de-camp of Santa Anna, at their head. A report was circulated that Santa Anna himself was with the enemy, but I think it was false. A reinforcement of about one thousand men is now entering Bexar from the west, and I think it more than probable that Santa Anna is now in town, from the rejoicing we hear. Col. Fannin is said to be on the march to this place with reinforcements; but I fear it is not true, as I have repeatedly sent to him for aid without receiving any. Col. Bonham, my special messenger, arrived at Labahia fourteen days ago, with a request for aid; and on the arrival of the enemy in Bexar ten days ago, I sent an express to Col. F., which arrived at Goliad on the next day, urging him to send us reinforcements—*none have yet arrived*. I look to the *colonies alone* for aid; unless it arrives soon, I shall have to fight the enemy on his own terms. I will, however, do the best I can under the circumstances, and I feel confident that the determined valour and desperate courage, heretofore evinced by my men, will not fail them in the last struggle, and although they may be sacrificed to the vengeance of a Gothic enemy, the victory will cost the enemy so dear, that it will be worse for him than a defeat. I hope your honourable body will hasten on reinforcements, ammunition, and provisions to our aid, as soon as possible. We have provisions for twenty days for the men we have; our supply of ammunition is limited. At least five hundred pounds of cannon powder, and two hundred rounds of six, nine, twelve, and eighteen pound balls—ten kegs of rifle powder, and a supply of lead, should be sent to this place without delay, under a sufficient guard.

If these things are promptly sent, and large reinforcements are hastened to this frontier, this neighbourhood will be the great and decisive battle ground. The power of Santa Anna is to be met here or in the colonies; [illegible] better meet them here, than to suffer a war of [illegible] rage in our settlements. A blood-red banner waves from the church of Bexar, and in the camp above us, in token that the war is one of vengeance against rebels; they have declared us as such, and demanded that we should surrender at discretion, or that this garrison should be put to the sword. Their threats have had no influence on me or my men, but to make all fight with desperation, and that high-souled courage which characterizes the patriot, who is willing to die in defence of his country's liberty and his own honour.

The citizens of this municipality are all our enemies except those who have joined us heretofore; we have but three Mexicans now in the fort; those who have not joined us in this extremity, should be declared public enemies, and their property should aid in paying the expenses of the war.

The bearer of this will give your honourable body, a statement more in detail, should he escape through the enemy's lines. *God and Texas!—Victory or Death!!*

Your obedient ser't.
W. Barret Travis, *Lieut. Col. Comm.*

P. S. The enemy's troops are still arriving, and the reinforcement will probably amount to two or three thousand.

T."

A thrilling account of the scene in the Alamo, appeared in the (San Felipe) Telegraph, of March 24th, which is here inserted, as having higher evidences of authenticity than any which I have been able to obtain elsewhere.

"At day-break of the 6th inst. the enemy surrounded the fort with their infantry, with the cavalry forming a circle outside to prevent escape on the part of the garrison; the number consisted of at least 4000 against 140! General Santa Anna commanded in person, assisted by four Generals and a formidable train of artillery. Our men had b[illegible]ously much fatigued and harassed by night-[illegible] and [illegible]nt toils, having experienced for some day[illegible] a heavy bombardment and several real and feigned attacks. [illegible]t, American valour and American love of Liberty displayed themselves to the last; they were never more conspicuous: twice did the enemy apply to the walls their scaling ladders, and, twice did they receive a check; for our men were determined to verify the words of the immortal Travis, 'to make the victory worse to the enemy than a defeat.' A pause ensued after the second attack, which was renewed on the third time, owing to the exertions of Santa Anna and his officers; they then poured in over the walls, 'like sheep;' the struggle, however, did not even there cease—unable from the crowd and for want of time to load their guns and rifles, our men made use of the but-ends of the latter, and continued to fight and to resist, until life ebbed out through their numberless wounds, and the enemy had conquered the fort, but not its brave, its matchless defenders: they perished, but they yielded not: only one (Warner) remained to ask for quarter, which was denied by the unrelenting enemy—total extermination succeeded, and the darkness of death occupied the memorable Alamo, but recently so teeming with gallant spirits and filled with deeds of never-failing remembrance. We envy not the feelings of the victors, for they must have been bitter and galling; not proud ones. Who would not be rather one of the Alamo heroes, than of the living of its merciless victors? Spirits of the mighty, though fallen! honours and rest are with ye; the spark of immortality which animated your forms, shall brighten into a flame, and Texas, the whole world, shall hail ye like demi-gods of old, as founders of new actions, and as patterns for imitation!

From the commencement to its close, the storming lasted less than an hour. Major Evans, master of ordnance, was killed when in the act of setting fire to the powder magazine, agreeably to the previous orders from Travis. The end of David Crocket of Tennessee, the great hunter of the West, was as glorious as his career through life had been useful. He and his companions were found surrounded by piles of assailants, whom they had immolated on the altar of Texas liberties. The countenance of Crocket was unchanged: he had in death that freshness of hue, which his exercise of pursuing the beasts of the forest and the prairie had imparted to him. Texas places him, exultingly, amongst the martyrs in her cause. Col. Travis stood on the walls cheering his men, exclaiming 'Hurra, my boys!' till he received a second shot, and fell; it is stated that a Mexican general (Mora) then rushed upon him, and lifted his sword to destroy his victim, who, collecting all his last expiring energies, directed a thrust at the former, which changed their relative positions; for the victim became the victor, and the remains of both descended to eternal sleep; but not alike to everlasting fame.

Travis's negro was spared, because, as the enemy said, 'his master had behaved like a brave man;' words which of themselves form an epitaph: they are already engraved on the hearts of Texans, and should be inscribed on his tomb. Col. James Bowie, who had for several days been sick, was murdered in his bed; his remains were mutilated. Humanity shudders at describing these scenes; and the pen, as if a living thing, stops to gain fresh force, that sensibility may give way to duty.

* * * * * * * * *

Mrs. Dickinson and her child, and a negro of Bowie's, and, as before said, Travis's, were spared.

Our dead were denied the right of Christian burial; being stripped and thrown into a pile, and burned. Would that we could gather up their ashes and place them in urns!

It is stated that about fifteen hundred of the enemy were killed and wounded in the last and previous attacks."

It is necessary now to return to Goliad, and ascertain the fate of the gallant Fannin and his noble volunteers. The Commandant at *Fort Defiance* had received the express of Travis and Bowie requesting his aid, on the 25th of February. It had been drawn up, of course, in most earnest terms, and concluded as follows: "We have removed all our men into the Alamo, where we will make such resistance as is due to our honour, and that of the country, until we can get assistance from you, which we expect you to forward immediately. In this extremity, we hope you will send us all the men you can spare promptly. We have one hundred and forty-six men, who are determined *never to retreat*. We have but little provisions, but enough to serve us till you and your men arrive. We deem it unnecessary to repeat to a brave officer, who knows his duty, that we call on him for assistance." When the Hero of Conception read this letter, he at once resolved to comply with its requisition, though, in doing so, he felt that he was rushing, as it were, almost into the very jaws of Destruction; and so wrote immediately to the government, and requested, in addition, that the troops of Gonzales, which he supposed to be three hundred strong, should second the movement, and "effect a junction with him below Bexar, at some convenient point." A note subjoined to this official letter of Fannin, reads thus: "It may be well to inform you, that I am aware that my present movement towards Bexar is anything but *military*. The appeal of Colonels Travis and Bowie, however, cannot be resisted, particularly with the description of troops now in the field—*sanguine, chivalrous volunteers*. Much must be risked to relieve the besieged. If, however, I hear of the fall of Bexar before I reach them, I shall retire on this place, complete the fortifications already commenced and in a state of forwardness, and prepare for a vigorous defence, waiting anxiously, in any event, for the arrival of reinforcements. I leave from eighty to one hundred men here, and hope soon for more."

Why Colonel Fannin did not march to Bexar as contemplated, is thus satisfactorily explained, in an official letter to the government, under date of the 29th of February, in which he says: "I have to report, that yesterday, after making all the preparations *possible*, we took up our line of march, (about three hundred strong, and four pieces of Artillery,) towards Bexar, to the relief of those brave men now shut up in the Alamo, and to raise the siege, leaving Captain Westover in command of this post. Within two hundred yards of town, one of the wagons broke down, and it was necessary to *double teams* in order to draw the Artillery across the river, each piece having but one yoke of oxen—not a particle of breadstuff, with the exception of half a tierce of rice, with us—no *beef*, with the exception of a small portion which had been dried—and not a *head* of cattle, except those used to draw the Artillery, the ammunition, &c.; and it was impossible to obtain any until we should arrive at Seguin's Rancho, seventy miles from this place. After crossing the river, the troops encamped. * * *

This morning, whilst here, I received a note from the officer commanding the volunteers, requesting, in the name of the officers of his command, a Council of War, on the subject of the expedition to Bexar, which, of course, was granted. The Council of War consisted of all the Commissioned officers of the command, and it was by them unanimously determined that, inasmuch as a proper supply of provisions and means of transportation could not be had; and as it was *impossible*, with our present means, to carry the Artillery with us; and as by leaving Fort Defiance without a proper garrison, it might fall into the hands of the enemy, with the provisions, &c., now at Matagorda, Demit's Landing, and Coxe's Point, and on the way to meet us; and, as by report of our spies (sent out by Colonel Bowers, &c.,) we may expect an attack on this place, it was expedient to return to this post and complete the fortifications, &c. &c. * * * * * I sent an express to Gonzales to apprise the Committee of Safety there of our return. * * * * * * * *

In case immediate reinforcements are not sent on to this place and Bexar, I would recommend that *the Army of Reserve* be concentrated near *Gonsales and Victoria*, for in *that* neighbourhood *must the enemy be met* and *driven back*, if possible. We want your *orders*, and be assured, *that they shall be obeyed to the letter*."

The narrative of Captain Shackelford* is now introduced, as promised, and may be thoroughly relied on as a faithful history of the tragic events therein detailed. The characteristic modesty shown in the *titular* words prefixed to the narrative of this gentleman will not be likely to lessen the weight of his high testimony among those whose belief is worth securing; and the man who can read the sad tale that he relates, without finding himself inclined both to Pity and Indignation, has a right to regard himself as above or below the common feelings of humanity.

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* Captain Shackelford has been long most intimately known to me. He has enjoyed, for many years past, a standing and popularity in the State of Alabama, of which any of his contemporaries either there or elsewhere might feel justly proud. I would dwell in detail upon the many high and splendid qualities which adorn and beautify the character of Captain Shackelford both as a private and public man, were I not apprehensive of wounding that singular delicacy of mind with which I know him to be imbued, and which would render even deserved commendation, from one standing to him in the relation which I occupy, more annoying than agreeable. I feel bound to mention one fact though. Nearly five years since, I chanced to be sojourning, for a few days, upon that romantic mountain known as the classic site of the [illegible]

"SOME FEW NOTES UPON A PART OF THE TEXAN WAR.—BY JACK SHACKELFORD.

HAVING lost all my papers and memoranda, I am unable to give precise dates, or to go minutely into detail. I promise, however, to give the truth in substance.

Some time in the early part of March, 1836, Col. Fannin had under his command, at Goliad, upwards of 400

College of La Grange; and one morning, I was standing upon a lofty eminence, looking down with delight upon the beautiful valley of the Tennessee, which expands here to the East and West as far as the eye can reach; when my ears were surprised with the unwonted sound of Artillery, which seemed to be proceeding rapidly along the line of the Rail-way that connects the towns of Tuscumbia and Courtland, like a "young volcano" in motion. I inquired of those who were near me into the cause of what had awakened my surprise. What was my delight to learn, that my old and dearly-loved friend Dr. Shackelford, the renowned though unfortunate Captain of the valiant Red Rovers, the companion in arms of the thrice-glorious Fannin, had just returned; and that his fellow-citizens of the river-bank were escorting him rejoicingly to his own home with military honours! I afterwards heard that on his arrival in Courtland, he found a vast multitude convened to receive him, as it were, *from the dead*. Among these were the *Fathers*, and *Brothers*, and *Mothers* and *Sisters*, of those noble young heroes who had been lately committed to his charge, and whose bones he had been fated to see interred in the distant wilderness. All had come out now to congratulate him on his wondrous escape. But when he gazed upon the crowd, and remembered the *past*, his sensibilities were overpowered, and he burst into tears, and all around him wept in unison. Never can that delicious yet doleful season of "mirth in funeral, and dirge in marriage," pass away from the recollection of those who were then present!

men, consisting of Ward's battalion from Georgia, and the following companies under command of Major Wallace of the Texan army, who had recently been elected Major of the 2d Battalion, composed of the following companies, viz: New Orleans Greys, Capt. Pettis; Mustangs, Capt. Duval, of Kentucky; Mobile Greys, Capt. McManeman; Huntsville Volunteers, Capt. Bradford; —— Volunteers, Capt. King; and Red Rovers from Alabama, Capt. Shackelford. In addition to these, there was a regular company of Artillery, Capt. Westover; —— Hurst, Serenichi, and Cornika, (Polanders,) and Moore, Capt. of Guns. The companies were all small, excepting the Red Rovers, which numbered nearly seventy. About the 12th of March, Captain King's company was sent to the Mission of Refugio for the purpose of bringing off some families that were in a state of alarm. At the Mission, King encountered a large force of the enemy. Having taken protection in the church, he despatched a message to Fannin, and with his little band of 28 men, maintained himself against a large party of the enemy. About midnight, on the 14th, King's express reached Goliad, and Col. Fannin immediately despatched Col. Ward's Battalion to his relief. This was the beginning of our trouble; and the only act for which I ever blamed Fannin. Those families should have left the Mission before they did, and Fannin should not have divided his forces; but that he was actuated by the best feelings, none can deny. Ward reached the Mission on the evening following, and cut his way through a large force; against which, King had been gallantly contending all day. The next day the enemy withdrew some distance across a small stream, and were pursued by Ward and King, who unfortunately separated. This event led to the capture of King and his company, who were, as I have been informed by one present, marched a short distance and massacred in a cold-blooded manner; King meeting his fate with the intrepidity of a soldier. Ward returned to the church, and after having expended the greater part of his ammunition, retreated silently, and under cover of the night, and made his way to the East in the direction of the Guadaloupe. This manœuvre eluded the vigilance of the Mexicans, as they had laid an ambuscade for him in the direction of Goliad. He reached Victoria on the 21st, after great suffering and being four or five days without anything to eat. At this place he expected to find the Texan army, and was not apprised of his mistake until surrounded by a large force of Mexicans under General Urea. One of his men, who made his escape, has assured me that Urea *capitulated* with him, and *pledged* himself to afford him every *guarantee* according to the usages of civilized nations; and that even then Ward was unwilling to capitulate until a majority of his officers consented to do so.

On the morning after Ward left Goliad for the Mission, to relieve King, Col. Fannin received Gen. Houston's order to evacuate Goliad and fall back on Victoria. He took immediate steps in making preparation to *obey this order*, by dismounting several guns and burying them, sending out one or two parties of men, accompanied by officers, to procure teams and carts, and making other arrangements for an immediate retreat. An express was likewise forthwith sent to Ward, commanding him to return with as little delay as possible, and stating to him the nature of Gen. Houston's order. This express was followed by another, and yet another, who were all taken prisoners by the enemy; and it was not until the evening of the 18th that we received any intelligence from Ward, and that not of a satisfactory character. I have mentioned this circumstance, if possible, to dissipate an unworthy prejudice which has been created in the minds of many, that Fannin wished to forestall Houston in the command of the army, and therefore *disobeyed his orders*. I have said, that he committed an error in separating his forces. Had he not done this, we should have been prepared to fall back on Victoria, as ordered, with a force sufficient to contend with every Mexican we might have encountered. Fannin's great anxiety alone, for the fate of Ward and King, and their little band, delayed our march. This delay, I feel assured, was not the result of any wish to *disobey orders.*

On the 16th of March, Colonel Albert C. Horton, of Matagorda, with twenty-seven men under his command, arrived at Goliad, bringing with them some oxen, to enable us to take off our stores and munitions. A fourth messenger was despatched to Col. Ward, urging his immediate return, while we were busied in making preparation for a retreat. On the 17th, Horton was ordered to examine the country towards San Antonio, and keep scouts out in every direction. On his return, Horton reported a large force, a few miles from the fort, moving on slowly and in good order. We immediately dug up our cannon, which had been buried, and re-mounted them, expecting an attack that night, or early the next morning. During the night, the guard was doubled, and every arrangement made by the commanding officer, to prevent surprise. On the 18th, the enemy was still roving about the neighbourhood of the fort, and during the day a large reconnoitring party showed themselves on the opposite side of the river, in the vicinity of the old Mission. Horton was immediately sent over with his company, and a few others who could procure horses. I posted myself on a commanding bastion of the fort, where I had a full view of the encounter that ensued. *Horton behaved in a very gallant manner*, and made a furious charge upon the enemy, drove them into the timber, and after encountering a very large force of infantry, fell back and formed his company in good order, immediately in front of the Mission. In this rencontre, young Fenner, of my company, shot a spy-glass from the hands of an officer. When I saw Horton in the midst of such peril, contending against such fearful odds, I obtained Col. Fannin's permission to go with my company to his relief. Such was the enthusiasm of the men, that they waded the river up to their arm-pits, although by taking a little more time, we could have availed ourselves of the benefit of a flat which was at the ford. So soon as we reached the Mission, and were about to flank the enemy, they made a precipitate retreat into the woods; although they outnumbered us ten to one. This was, no doubt, in part, the result of a cannonading from the fort, which unfortunately commenced about this time. I say *unfortunately*, for we had every advantage of position, and could we have met even that force on such terms, I should not have feared the result. The cannonading from the fort, was done at the instance of the officer commanding the guns.

On the morning of the 19th, we commenced the retreat very early, the Red Rovers leading the van, and Duval's company covering the rear. The lower road had been well examined by Horton's videttes, who reported all clear. At the lower ford of the San Antonio, much time was consumed in consequence of the inability of the team to draw our cannon up the bank. I waded into the river myself, with several of my company, assisting the artillerists by putting our shoulders to the wheels, and forcing the guns forward. We then moved on briskly and in good order, Horton's scouts examining the country in front and rear. We had advanced about six miles, when our scouts came in with a report that the route was still clear. As our teams had become somewhat weary, and very much in want of food, from having been kept in the fort for the last twenty-four hours, Col. Fannin determined to halt and graze them, and that we also might have time to take a little refreshment. I remonstrated warmly against this measure, and urged the necessity of first reaching the Coleta, then about five miles distant. In this matter I was overruled, and from the ardent manner in which I urged the necessity of getting under the *protection of timber*, I found the *smiles of many*, indicated a belief that at least I thought it prudent to take care of number one. Here let me state one thing, lest I may be misunderstood: Col. Fannin and many others could not be made to believe that the Mexicans would dare follow us. He had too much contempt for their prowess, and too much confidence in the ability of his own little force. That he was deficient in that *caution* which a prudent officer should always evince, must be admitted; but that he was a brave, gallant, and intrepid officer, none who knew him can doubt.

We halted near an hour, and then took up our march. Horton's Company was sent in advance, to examine the pass on the Coleto. We had advanced about four miles, when a large force of cavalry were seen emerging from the timber, about two miles distant, and to the West of us. About one half of this force (350 men) were detached and thrown in front of our right flank, with the intention of cutting us off from a skirt of timber, about one mile and a half in front. Our artillery was ordered to open upon them and cover our rear. Several cannon were fired at them, but without effect. About this time, we discovered a large force of infantry emerging from the same skirt of woodland, at which their cavalry had first been seen. Our guns were then ordered to be limbered; and we had purposed to reach the timber in front, but the enemy approached so rapidly, that Col. Fannin determined to make an immediate disposition for battle. The prairie, here, was nearly in the form of a circle. In front was the timber of the Coleto, about a mile distant; in the rear, was another strip of timber, about six miles distant; whilst on our right and left, equi-distant, four or five miles from us, there were, likewise, bodies of timber. The order of battle was that of a hollow square. But, unfortunately for us, in endeavouring to reach a commanding eminence in the prairie, our ammunition-cart broke down, and we were compelled to take our position in a valley, six or seven feet below the mean base, of about one fourth of a mile in area. I have said the order of battle was that of a hollow square; I should more properly say, an oblong square. We had several pieces of artillery, which were judiciously posted. The Red Rovers and New Orleans' Greys formed the front line of the square; the Red Rovers being on the extreme right. Colonel Fannin took a commanding position, directly in rear of the right flank. Our orders were, not to fire until the enemy approached in point blank shot. The cavalry on our right dismounted, about 350 strong, and when within about a quarter of a mile of us, gave a volley with their scopets, which came whizzing over our heads. They still continued to advance, and from the proximity of the second volley of balls to our heads, I ordered my company to sit down, which example was followed by all, excepting the artillerists. The third volley from their pieces wounded the man on my left, and several others. About this time, Colonel Fannin had the cock of his rifle shot away by a ball, and another buried in the breech. He was still standing erect, a conspicuous mark, giving orders, "not to fire yet," in a calm and decided manner. The enemy had now advanced within about one hundred yards of us; they halted and manifested a determination to give us a regular battle. At this moment we opened our fire on them, rifles, muskets, and artillery. Colonel Fannin, at the same time, received a severe wound in the fleshy part of the thigh, the ball passing obliquely over the bone, carrying with it a part of his pocket-handkerchief. At this crisis, the enemy's infantry, from about ten to twelve hundred strong, advanced on our left and rear. Those on our left were the celebrated "Tampico permanent Regiment," of which Santa Anna said :—"They were the best troops in the world." When at a convenient distance, they gave us a volley and charged bayonet. So soon as the smoke cleared away, they were received by a piece of artillery, Duval's riflemen, and some other troops, which mowed them down with tremendous slaughter. Their career being thus promptly stopped, they contented themselves with falling down in the grass and occasionally raising up to fire; but whenever they showed their heads, they were taken down by the riflemen. The engagement now became general; and a body of cavalry, from two to three hundred strong, made a demonstration on our rear. They came up in full tilt, with gleaming lances, shouting like Indians. When about sixty yards distant, the whole of the rear division of our little command, together with a piece or two of artillery, loaded with double canister filled with musket-balls, opened a tremendous fire upon them, which brought them to a full halt and swept them down by scores. The rest immediately retreated, and chose to fight on foot the balance of the day. Our guns had now become hot—we had no water to sponge them—many of our artillerists had been wounded, and we had to rely alone on our small-arms. These were industriously handled, as all our men were kept busy during the balance of the day. The action commenced about one o'clock, and continued, without intermission, until after sunset. Our whole force did not exceed *two hundred and seventy-five effective men.* That of the enemy, (from all the information we could get) was reckoned at *seven hundred Cavalry and twelve hundred Infantry!* Our loss was seven killed, besides several mortally wounded, and sixty *badly* wounded. We had many others slightly wounded. Out of the number killed, four belonged to my company; and more than *one half* of my company were struck with balls during the battle.

The courage of all was of that character which would have done honour to veterans. I might particularize many young men whose daring was conspicuous; but from motives of delicacy, I refrain from doing so. My company was more immediately under my view than that of any other. I feel no hesitation in saying, the cool and undaunted courage, the fearless intrepidity and chivalrous bearing of many, very many, would have done honour to Rome and Sparta in their proudest days of military glory.

The enemy's loss was immense; but as we have no correct account of the number, it must be conjectural. Many hundreds must have been killed and wounded; and General Rusk has informed me, that papers fell into his hands after the battle of San Jacinto, which make the enemy's loss even more than we understood it to be.

Having stated our force at only two hundred and seventy-five men, I deem it proper to give you the names of the companies engaged in the battle of the Prairie, otherwise called, 'Fannin's battle.'

Colonel William Fannin and Major Wallace.

Red Rovers............	Captain	Shackelford,
Orleans Greys	"	Pettis,
Mustangs..............	"	Duval,
Mobile Greys	"	McManeman,
Regulars—Artillery	"	Westover.

Captain Fraser, who likewise commanded the militia of San Patricio, had a few of his men with him; Drs. Barnard and Field were likewise both engaged in battle. The former had the cock of his gun shot away, and calmly took a musket from the hands of one of his wounded companions, and resumed his duty with perfect coolness. Captain F. I. Desauque, the bearer of General Houston's express, was also actively engaged.

Here I mention, with much pleasure, three other young men: Chadwich, Brooks, and Brister. The last mentioned was at the taking of San Antonio, in the first conflict, and was our Adjutant; the two former were in Colonel Fannin's staff. Chadwich was from Illinois—Brooks from Virginia; they were both gallant and gifted young men. During the battle, Brooks received a severe wound, having a musket ball buried in the centre of his thigh. I afterwards found him at Goliad, in the quarters of some Mexican officers; and the night before the massacre, I extended the limb, and [illegible] his wound. When that horrid scene was passing, this gallant young man was dragged out, in the presence of several Mexican officers, by two soldiers, and put to death with the bayonet.

I have said that Col. Horton had been sent in front to reconnoitre the road about the Coleto; and as much censure has been cast upon this officer by some, for his subsequent conduct, I will relate what I have learned from my second lieutenant, Francis, who was with him, and from one of my company, Joseph Fenner, who was likewise with him. They are both as fearless and gallant fellows as were in the army. They state, that so soon as our firing was heard, Horton ordered all "to horse," having called a halt, and immediately retraced his steps to the edge of the prairie, where they had a view of our engagement, then going on; and from the direction in which the enemy and ourselves were placed, it had very much the appearance of our commingling together, as they saw troops immediately in our front, and others on our rear, and on our flanks;—that Horton's lieutenant, *Moore*, objected to going to our assistance; stating as his belief, that the enemy were within our lines, and that we must be cut to pieces; and immediately dashed off, taking the greater part of the force with him: that Horton manifested a willingness to go in; but after nearly all his men had left him, concluded the attempt, with the few men who remained, would be an act of desperation: that they immediately retreated to Victoria, where they expected to unite with a Texan force; but on reaching that place, found that the troops who had been stationed there, had retreated; and that a large force of Mexicans was but a few miles off. From the statements of these two men, I did not in the least blame Horton. He might have made the attempt to get in; but I candidly believe, even with the whole of his force, he could never have cut his way through such an immense number of Mexican cavalry.

During the night, the enemy occupied the strip of woodland in front of us; and we entrenched ourselves on the ground where we fought. It has been often asked, as a matter of surprise, why we did not retreat in the night. A few reasons, I think, ought to satisfy every candid man on this point. During the engagement our teams had all been killed, wounded, or had strayed off; so that we had no possible way of taking off our wounded companions. Those who could have deserted them under such circumstances, possess feelings which I shall never envy. I will mention another reason, which may have more weight with some persons, than the one already given. We had been contending for five hours, without intermission, with a force more than *seven times* larger than our own; had driven the enemy from the field with great slaughter; and calculated on a reinforcement in the morning, from Victoria, when we expected to consummate our victory. The morning of the 20th came; but instead of a reinforcement, as we had anticipated, the reverse was the fact. The enemy had an accession to their remaining number of about *five hundred* men.

Their whole force was then displayed in the most imposing and pompous manner; together with about three hundred pack mules; keeping, however, concealed, some pieces of artillery. These, being masked, were placed upon an elevated piece of ground, and were poured upon us; but without any effect. They took care to keep without the range of our rifles. Our cannon had become cool and we could have returned their fire; but perhaps with no effect, and therefore reserved all for close quarters. Here let me remark, that I have read Gen. Urea's pamphlet on this subject, in which he says the firing of the artillery was only the signal for a general charge. On this point, as well as his denial of any capitulation, I never read a more villanous *falsehood* from the pen of any man, who aspired to the rank of General. After they had fired a few rounds at us, they raised a white flag which was soon taken down.

We then had a consultation of officers, a majority of whom believed that we could not save our wounded without a capitulation; and but *one* solitary man in the ranks would have surrendered at discretion. We then raised a white flag, which was responded to by the enemy. Major Wallace was then sent out together with one or two others who spoke the Mexican language. They shortly returned, and reported that the Mexican General could capitulate with the commanding officer only. Col. Fannin, although quite lame, then went out with the flag. When he was about to leave our lines, the emotions of my mind were intense, and I felt some anxiety to hear the determination of the men. I remarked to him, that I would not oppose a surrender, provided we could obtain an ***honourable capitulation;*** one, on which he could rely: that if he could not obtain such,—come back—our graves are already dug—let us all be buried together. To these remarks the men responded in a firm and determined manner; and the Colonel assured us, that he never would surrender on any other terms. He returned in a short time thereafter, and communicated the substance of an agreement entered into by Gen. Urea and himself. Col. Holsinger, a German, and an engineer in the Mexican service, together with several other officers, then came into our lines to consummate the arrangement. The first words Col. Holsinger uttered after a very polite bow, were: "WELL GENTLEMEN, IN EIGHT DAYS, LIBERTY AND HOME!" I heard this distinctly. The terms of the Capitulation were then written in both the English and Mexican languages, and read two or three times by officers who could speak and read both languages. The instruments which embodied the terms of Capitulation as agreed on, were then signed and interchanged in the most formal and solemn manner; and were in substance, as follows: "1st. That we should be received and treated as prisoners of war according to the ***usages of the most civilised nations.*** 2d. That private property should be respected and restored:

that the side arms of the officers should be given up. 3d. That the men should be sent to Copano, and thence to the United States in eight days, or so soon thereafter as vessels could be procured to take them. 4th. That the officers should be paroled and return to the United States in like manner." I assert most positively, that this Capitulation was entered into, without which a surrender never would have been made. I know, that when Santa Anna was a prisoner, he flattered many into a belief, that no Capitulation was made; and those who are disposed to distrust the solemn asseverations of their unfortunate and much injured companions in arms, and take the bare word of an unprincipled Tyrant as blood-thirsty as ever foully disgraced the annals of civilization, are welcome to all the benefit of such confidence and credulity. After our arms had been given up and the necessary arrangements made, all who were not so badly wounded as to prevent their marching, were posted off to Golind under a strong guard. We reached there a little after sunset, and were driven into the church like so many swine. We were compelled to keep a space open in the centre for the guard to pass backward and forward, under the penalty of having it kept open by a discharge of guns. To avoid this, we had literally to lie one upon another. Early in the morning, their soldiery commenced dragging the blankets from our wounded. I resisted an attempt of this sort near me, and had a bayonet drawn and thrust at me.

So soon as it was sufficiently light to see well, I commenced (with what little means I could procure,) dressing and attending our wounded; but I was soon summoned by some Mexican officers, who came to the church door, to attend them. From that moment I found that I had to labour in the Hospital, and that scarcely an hour in the day would be allowed me to attend to my wounded companions.

On the second day after our arrival, Col. Fannin and the wounded who were left behind arrived at the Fort; the men having scarcely any water, being compelled to bring it from the river in canteens; nor had we any other food than a scanty pittance of beef without bread or salt. Col. Fannin was then under the protection of Col. Holsinger. On passing from one part of their wounded to another, I made it convenient to see Fannin, and stated to him how badly we were treated. He immediately wrote to Gen. Urea, adverting to the terms of the Capitulation, and to our treatment. He told me a promise was given him, that every comfort in their power should be provided for us in future. Let me here ask, if there had been no Capitulation, why did not Gen. Urea advert to the fact, when Col. Fannin urged upon him the immediate observance of its requirements? The next day Col. Fannin went in company with Col. Holsinger, on their way to Copano for the purpose of chartering a vessel, then said to be there, to take himself and men to the United States. When they reached that place, however, the vessel had departed. This, I afterwards learned, was a stratagem to get possession of one of the vessels belonging to Uncle Sam's folks; thinking the old fellow too good-natured to resist any little breach of the kind. On the 23d, Major Miller and about seventy men were brought in, having been taken at Copano; and on the 25th, Col. Ward and command, taken, as I before said, near Victoria.

Our treatment did not vary much during the week, except that the men were marched into an area of the Fort, without any protection or covering; and the Church filled with a part of their wounded; ours occupying the barracks, or rather one room. On the 26th, Col. Fannin returned. That night I slept in a small room with him and some other officers. This room was in one corner of the Church, and was where we kept our medicines, instruments, bandages, &c. Col. Fannin was quite cheerful, and we talked pleasantly of the prospect of our reaching the United States. I cannot, here, resist an inclination to mention one more incident of that evening — the last evening of many, very many gallant spirits. It had a peculiar effect upon my feelings, and never can be erased from the tablet of my memory. Many of our young men had a fondness for music, and could perform well, particularly on the flute. In passing by them to visit some wounded, on the outside of the Fort, my ear caught the sound of music, as it rolled in harmonious numbers from several flutes in concert. The tune was "*Home, Sweet Home.*" I stopped for a few moments and gazed upon my companions with an intense and painful interest. As those "notes of mournful touch" stole upon the breeze, the big tear that rolled down many a manly cheek, which had glowed in battle and burned in the rage of conflict, told the heart's irrepressible emotion; for the image of home and friends came over the mind "like the pressure of a spirit-hand." Poor fellows! It was their last earthly evening. Little did they then dream, that the next morning, *Treachery* would consign them to their *everlasting home!* Subsequent events rendered it easier for me to forget all the scenes of a thousand days of pleasurable enjoyment, than to cease to remember this one incident of those few lonely minutes of grief.

27th March,—Palm Sunday.—Never whilst the current of life rushes through this poor heart of mine, can I forget the horrors of this fatal morning. At dawn of day we were awakened by a Mexican officer calling us up, and saying he "wanted the men to form a line, that they might be counted." On hearing this, my impression was, that in all probability some poor fellows had made their escape during the night. After leaving the Church, I was met by Colonel Guerrear, said to be the Adjutant General of the Mexican army. This officer spoke the English language as fluently as I did myself; and to his honour be it said, he seemed a gentleman and a man of feeling. He requested that I would go to his tent in company with Major Miller and men; and that I would take my friend and companion, Dr. Joseph H.

Bernard, with me. We accordingly went over to his tent, about one hundred yards off, in a south-westerly direction. On passing the gate of the Fort, I saw Ward's men in line, with their knapsacks on. I inquired of them where they were going; some of them stated that they were to march to Copano, and from thence to be sent *home!* After reaching Colonel Guerrear's tent (to attend to some wounded, as we expected,) we sat down and engaged in familiar conversation with a little Mexican officer who had been educated at Bardstown, Ky. In about half an hour, we heard the report of a volley of small-arms, towards the river, and to the east of the Fort. I immediately inquired the cause of the firing; and was assured by the officer that he "did not know, but expected it was the guard firing off their guns." In about fifteen or twenty minutes thereafter, another such volley was fired, directly south of us, and in front. At the same time, I could distinguish the heads of some of the men through the boughs of some peach trees, and could hear their screams. It was then, for the first time, the awful conviction seized upon our minds — that *Treachery* and *Murder* had begun their work. Shortly afterwards, Col. Guerrear appeared at the mouth of the tent. I asked him if it could be possible they were murdering our men? He replied that "it was so" — but that he "had not given the order; neither had he executed it." He further said, he had done all in his power to save as many as he could; and that if he could have saved more, he would have done so.

The men were taken out in four divisions, and under different pretexts; such as, making room in the Fort for the reception of Santa Anna, — going out to slaughter beef, — and being marched off to Copano, to be sent home. In about an hour, the closing scene of this base and treacherous tragedy was acted in the Fort; and the cold-blooded murder of all the wounded, who were unable to be marched out, was its infernal catastrophe. I learned from the interpreter, that Col. Fannin was the last doomed captive of vengeance; that he was ordered to communicate the fact to him; and that Fannin met his fate in a calm and soldier-like manner: that he handed his watch to the officer who superintended his *murder*, with a request that he would have him decently interred; and that he should be shot in the *breast*, and not in the *head*; with all of which the officer *solemnly promised* to comply; that Fannin was then placed in a chair, tied the handkerchief over his eyes with his own hands, and then opened his *bosom* to receive their balls. Major Miller, who knew Fannin, informed me that the next day he saw him lying in the prairie among a heap of wounded; and that he was shot in the *head!* We were marched into the Fort about 11 o'clock, and ordered to the Hospital.—Had to pass close by our butchered companions, who were stripped of their clothes, and their naked, mangled bodies thrown in a pile. The wounded were all hauled out in carts that evening; and some brush thrown over the different piles, with a view of burning their bodies. A few days afterwards, I accompanied Major Miller to the spot where lay those who were dear to me whilst living; and whose memory will be embalmed in my affection, until this poor heart itself shall be cold in death;—and Oh! what a spectacle! The flesh had been burned from off the bodies; but many hands and feet were yet unscathed—I could recognize no one.—The bones were all still knit together, and the vultures were feeding upon those limbs which, one week before, actively played in battle.

I will here relate an incident which I received from the lips of one of my company who made his escape. When the division of the army to which he belonged was brought out and made ready for the work of destruction, the men were ordered to sit down with their backs to the Guard. Young Fenner (the same who had shot the spy-glass from the hands of the officer, as before mentioned), rose on his feet, and exclaimed: "Boys, they are going to kill us—die with your faces to them, like men!" At the same moment, two other young men, flourishing their caps over their heads, shouted at the top of their voices: "Hurra for Texas!" Can Texas cease to cherish the memory of those, whose dying words gave a pledge of their devotion to her cause?

Many attempted to escape; but were run down by the Cavalry or shot; and, considering the nature of the place of butchery, with all the difficulties by which they were surrounded, it seems like a miracle that even a solitary one should have succeeded; and yet some did escape. From all the information I could get, from as many of these as I have conversed with, and from other sources, I herewith subjoin the names of those who escaped, and also of the companies to which they belonged:

Orleans Greys.

1. Wm. L. Hunter,
2. Wm. Brannan,
3. Jno. Reece,
4. David Jones,
5. B. H. Holland.

Huntsville Volunteers.

6. Bennet Butler,
7. Milton Irish.

Mustang's.

8. Wm. Morer,
9. Jno. C. Duval,
10. Wm. Mason,
11. Jno. Holliday,
12. —— Sharpe,
13. Jno. Van Bibber,
14. Charles Spain.

Burke's Company.

15. Herman Eremby,
16. Thos. Kemp,
17. N. J. Devany.

Horton's Company.

18. Danl. Martindale,
19. Wm. Hadden,
20. Charles Smith.

Red Rovers.

21. Isaac D. Hamilton,
22. D. Cooper,
23. L. M. Brooks,
24. Wm. Simpson.

Company not recollected.

25. N. Hosen,
26. Wm. Murphy,
27. Jno. Williams.

The physicians who were retained, were Dr. Joseph H. Bernard, of the Red Rovers, who had been appointed by Col. Fannin, Surgeon to the Garrison; Dr. Field, who had been sent on by the Government; Dr. Hall, who was a member of Maj. Miller's command; and myself, whose professional services, as before stated, had been called into requisition by the Mexicans. We had previously detailed several men from the ranks as assistants in the Hospital; of the number, Bills, Smith, Griffin, and Skerlock, were alone left. Our situation at this time was truly deplorable; having everything stolen from us but the clothes on our backs; without any of the comforts of life; — compelled to labour in the Hospital day and night;—exposed to a piercing March-wind, and no blankets to cover us during the night;—having little or no food, and that of the most revolting kind; — covered with vermin, worn down with fatigue, and a prey to the most heart-rending forebodings. But still, under every discouragement, we sustained ourselves with becoming fortitude. The officers, in their intercourse with us, evinced great politeness, which they seemed to consider the sum total of their duty. On one occasion they invited Dr. Bernard and myself to eat with them; but we gave them such a demonstration of American appetite, as to admonish them in future of the bad policy of extending to us such acts of hospitality.

I consider it not inappropriate, here to mention one female, *Pacheta Alevesco;* the wife of Captain A. She was indeed an angel of mercy—a second Pocahontas. All that she could do to administer to our comfort,—to pour "oil into our wounds," was done. She had likewise been to Major Miller and men, a "ministering angel."

Our regular routine of service was kept up until about the 20th of April, when an express arrived from the Alamo, requesting the attendance of some physician who could amputate a limb, as many had died at that place for the want of some person possessing that skill. My friend, Dr. Bernard, was selected for that duty, and I gladly availed myself of Colonel Ugartachea's consent to accompany him. Horses were provided for us, and we set off under the guard of a Sergeant and private of Cavalry. I have been often asked, why we did not then make our escape? One answer will suffice. These men were extremely kind and attentive to us; seemed to repose perfect confidence in our integrity and honour—had not been engaged in battle against us; and had done us no injury. The chance of escape, without taking their lives, was doubtful;—to do such a deed in cold blood, was what we revolted at. Arrived at San Antonio on the fourth evening after leaving Goliad.—Was immediately conducted to the head-quarters of Gen. Andrada.—Found him wearing a fine fur cap, which had been the property of some of our gallant countrymen who had fallen in the Alamo; smoking a cigar held by golden tongs; and was surrounded by some of his principal officers. From the immense crowd of men, women, and children, that followed us, it was evident we were objects of as much interest as a caravan of wild animals would be, if led through one of our principal cities. The General received us politely; read the letters which had been sent by us; conversed in French with Dr. Bernard, and promised us our passports, so soon as some few who were badly wounded, should do well. These passports were never given us. Dr. Bernard was taken to the house of Don Navarro; and I was conducted to that of Don Ramon Musques. We were politely received, and kindly treated by them and their families. I say this with much pleasure, as it awards to those families a tribute justly due them. A new era in our destiny seemed now to open upon our astonished senses. We were here disencumbered of the cannibals which had been preying upon our poor carcases for the last four or five weeks; obtained, if not decent, at least clean clothes, and met with smiling and pleasant faces in officers, men, and inhabitants generally.

Our duties were confined to the Hospital, but we had assistants, and they were not of a very arduous character—found about four hundred wounded men at this place—Commenced practising medicine among the inhabitants; although the pay was of a very low grade. We remained here until the battle of San Jacinto. That event seemed, at first, to throw no little consternation into their ranks;

but it was soon forgotten. We applied to the General for passports, but could not get them. The army made preparation to leave, and join Filisola on his retreat. No confidence seemed to be placed in the arrangement made by Santa Anna with the Cabinet of Texas. One company was left behind; and the care of the wounded was committed to us. Two days after the army departed, we put off, early in the morning; having first provided ourselves each with a good horse, guns, pistols, and ammunition. These arms were procured in a manner that would not have been deemed proper under other circumstances. We made directly for Goliad; passed the army of Andrada in the night; and kept clear of the road until the third day. We are greatly indebted to Dr. Alsbury and family for their friendly aid in this matter. The third morning, we met in the road an officer of the lancers and six men. They were within a short distance of us before we discovered them; and we were fearful of a rencontre against such odds; but rode directly up to them, and by a little address "threw sand into their eyes," and passed on.—Reached Goliad next morning, and found there about fifteen Texan troops. Here we rode over the ground which had drunk the heart's blood of our mangled companions. Their bones were bleaching on the prairie;—the rage of battle had passed; and all was calm in the stillness of death. Imagine our sensations. 'When the tumult of battle is past, the soul in silence melts away for the dead.'

That night we met a part of General Rusk's army about five miles from Goliad, and encamped with them. The next morning we met General Rusk, and requested of him, as a last sad duty, that he would have the bones of our fallen companions interred, with the honours of war. This he promised, and faithfully performed. We then went on to Velasco, where we found the Vice-President, Zavala, President Burnet, and many other distinguished men. Here, too, was that fiend incarnate, Santa Anna, then a prisoner, whose deeds had called aloud to heaven for vengeance and just retribution. He was treated with that kindness which should have been shown by him to a gallant, but unfortunate foe. Genius of Fannin! come forth and confront the lying dastard! Murdered companions of Goliad! call on your country for vengeance!!

Here I obtained an honourable discharge, and hurried home to console a bereaved and disconsolate family, for the loss of a son, a brother, and others who were dear to them. My friend, Bernard, remained behind. This gallant fellow, who had nobly fought by my side, who had been my companion in every trial and difficulty, determined to stay and aid the cause he had espoused, with his last dying effort.

On reaching home, I found, so strong was the universal conviction produced by the report of my death, that I had been buried with the honours of war, together with most of my company; and my life, and deeds, and last days, had passed in review before a multitude, which assembled to hear a funeral sermon that was pronounced upon the *mournful* occasion.

JACK SHACKELFORD."

As Captain Shackelford's account of the affair at the *Mission* does not descend into particulars, I take the liberty of inserting a history of this transaction written by a gentleman, who, as I learn, enjoyed special means of informing himself on the subject, and which is most probably correct as to details; being unwilling that full justice shall not be done, in this work, to all the valiant companions of the generous Fannin.

"Col. Ward, with about one hundred men of the Georgia battalion, arrived at the Mission on the evening of the 13th of March. A single salute from their rifles served to drive off the enemy, who had invested King in his position, which was the ruins of a stone church. Having marched during the day twenty-five miles, and most of the way in wet prairie, with the water often ancle deep, they were too greatly fatigued to think of returning the same night. Orders were given to commence their return march at daybreak, the next morning; and after posting sentinels the men were permitted to sleep on their arms. On mustering in the morning, a report of one of the sentinels excited suspicions that the enemy had returned into the neighbourhood, accompanied with a much larger force, and it was thought most prudent to send out a reconnoitring party, preceding the march of the main body. Accordingly Capt. King, with his company, was sent forward. A discharge of musketry was soon after heard in the direction they had taken. Ward and his men immediately pressed forward to the relief of the advance, but at a distance of only a few hundred yards they were met in front by a body of Mexicans of six or eight hundred men. At the same instant, they discovered a body of cavalry moving at some distance in flank in order to fall upon their rear, and cut off their retreat to the Mission. A moment's deliberation determined them to retreat again to the walls of the Mission house, and by reserving their fire they kept the cavalry at a distance, and reached the walls without loss.

Preparations were immediately set about to defend themselves against an assault, as the large force of the enemy rendered it very certain that this would soon be attempted.

On three sides of the church there was nothing to cover the approach of an enemy, but in advancing to make an assault, he must be exposed to the deadly aim of the garrison, the moment he came within rifle shot. On the fourth side was the church-yard, of some fifty yards in length, walled in. From the end of this the ground sloped for some distance. This would cover the advance of an enemy until it became necessary to scale the wall, and then there were some tombs within that would still partially cover them in a nearer approach to the walls of the church.

This point must therefore be defended by a force posted in the yard.

Bullock's company, consisting of about thirty-five men, then without a commissioned officer present, but acting as a band of brothers, volunteered for this dangerous service. Ward himself, although looking well to his duty as commandant of the battalion, was never long absent from this outpost; he scarcely affected to assume the command, but ranked with the band, and none could be more expert in using the rifle.

The order of defence was promptly adopted, and not less promptly executed. The force of the enemy, having been increased by the arrival of another reinforcement, now exceeded thirteen hundred, including the cavalry. At eight o'clock, they were seen advancing briskly to the assault from all points at the same instant. Upon the unenclosed sides of the building the enemy opened a fire, on reaching musket shot distance. On the side of the yard, they were discovered marching slowly and silently in close column, intending to draw up unperceived, and spring upon their prey from the yard at the moment when he was hard pressed by their companions, and wholly occupied by the attack from that quarter.

Ward had ordered his men not to hazard an ineffectual shot, but that every man should reserve his fire until sure of his aim, and he was obeyed to the letter. At the first discharge of rifles from the building, as many Mexicans bit the dust. This produced some confusion in the Mexican ranks, and one or two parties retreated, but others recovered and made a rush towards the building. A second discharge from within, not less fatal than the first, cut down the foremost ranks and put the survivors to flight.

Meantime, the contest had commenced on the side of the yard. The Mexican column had pressed forward as soon as the firing commenced on the other quarters; at something less than one hundred yards, they received the fire of the little band, until then concealed behind the wall. Several of the front ranks fell, almost in a body, as many, perhaps, by the panic as by the bullets; the remaining ranks fell back a few yards, but a further retreat was stopped by the efforts of a few brave officers. The column now displayed, and detachments from the two wings advanced to attack the yard in flank, while the centre once more moved forward to the attack in front. Ward and his little brothers, (as he now called them, for they were all mere striplings in appearance, mostly under the age of eighteen,) stood undaunted, pouring quick and deadly volleys upon the front, regardless of the threatened attack upon their flank, which they left to the care of their companions within the church; and these having now driven the first assailants beyond the reach of their rifles, were at full leisure to attend to the attack on that quarter, and the flankers now falling rapidly from their oblique fire, and unrestrained by the presence of any superior officer, fled like frightened deer, beyond the reach of danger. The contest was more obstinate in front, where several officers made a desperate effort to lead their men to the charge; many had fallen within a few yards of the wall, but every attempt to reach it proved ineffectual, and these men finding that they were maintaining the contest alone, while their companions had retreated out of danger, turned back with the rest.

The Texans having resisted this attack so gallantly and successfully, and with such terrible effects to the enemy, flattered themselves that they should remain unmolested during the remainder of the day. But in this they were mistaken. The pride of the Mexican officers, many of whom had been long in service, was excessively wounded by the result of the attempted assault, which in view of the great inequality in numbers, was felt to be disgraceful to the Mexican arms. The Mexican loss in the first attack had been little short of three hundred in killed and wounded, yet it was followed up in two hours by a second, and in the course of the day by a third attempt to dislodge the hundred volunteers from their crazy walls, but at each time with far less vigour than the first, and with as little success, but with much less loss in their own ranks.

Night now coming on, the Mexicans, after posting sentinels around the Mission, to prevent the escape of the besieged, retired to their camp, distant only five or six hundred yards. The Texans, finding their ammunition nearly exhausted, (which with all their care in husbanding it, would not have held out through the last assault, had it been as vigorous as the first,) determined to retreat during the night. This they effected unnoticed, or at least, unmolested, by the enemy. Not a man of the hundred volunteers had been killed in these repeated assaults; three only had been severely wounded;—these were from among the little band of brothers, who had so gallantly defended the outpost during the long day's strife, and the most daring of the band.* The acknowledged Mexican loss was four hundred men killed and wounded."

I do not feel at liberty to bring this chapter to a close, ere I lay before the reader the following interesting letter from General Rusk to General Lamar. It relates to a point of the gravest importance connected with the fate of the lamented Fannin; and may serve to supply a sufficient apology, if any be needed, for the laborious specification of particulars relative to Colonel Fannin's conduct in this last campaign, in which I have thought proper to indulge. My own feelings will indeed be highly gratified, if these two high-spirited Georgians, General Rusk and General Lamar, shall pronounce that *Justice* has been at last rendered to their illustrious countryman.

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* These men were left in the church;—their companions being unprovided with the means of taking them along. "We parted with tears and sobs," says our informant, who was one of the band, and who wept and sobbed again, before he had finished the tale. "When night came on, and the enemy had retired, they began to feel that hunger and thirst which a long day's work, without food or drink, could not fail to create. They had provided themselves with a tierce of water in the morning from a spring some four hundred yards distant; but this had been tapped and drawn off by the Mexican bullets on the first assault. The poor wounded boys now begged as a last favour of their companions, to fill their gourds with water before leaving them. The Mexicans had posted a strong guard at the spring, but the appeal of their stricken brothers was not to be resisted, and they marched in a body, determined to reach the fountain or perish in the attempt. After exchanging a volley, the Mexicans left them in possession of the spring; each then filled his gourd and returned unhurt to their companions. Four of the Mexican guard had fallen at the spring; they brought also the blankets of the foes they had slain, and in these they wrapped their dying comrades, and bid them farewell for ever."

"Nacogdoches, 23d April, 1837.

To General M. B. Lamar.

Dear Sir,—As you intend writing some account of the *War with Mexico*, I know that you will do the brave Col. Fannin and his men that justice which, so far, has not been done. Santa Anna and General Urea have both published to the world base and palpable slanders upon their memory, which, so far as I have seen, have not yet been repelled properly. It is not my purpose now to advert to any of the proofs which exist that Urea formed a Treaty with Col. Fannin, by which he was to receive for himself and all his men the usual treatment of prisoners of war. I only intend to refer to the statements made by General Santa Anna, immediately after he was brought into our camp a prisoner. During the first conversation which he held after being brought in, he alluded to Colonel Fannin and his men. No one had asked him about the matter, up to the time he commenced the conversation himself. What was first said, I do not distinctly recollect; but as soon as he commenced talking on that subject, I gave strict attention to what he said. He did not pretend to deny the existence of the Treaty; but denied that he had given a positive order to have them shot. He said that the Law of Mexico required, that all who were taken with arms in their hands should be shot; that General Urea was an officer of the Government, and could enter into no contract in violation of the Laws; and was going on with a course of reasoning, to show the correctness of his position, when I interrupted him, and told him Urea had made a Treaty stipulating to extend to Fannin and his men *the usual treatment of prisoners of war;* that that agreement *alone* had induced them to surrender, and that to shoot them in violation of that treaty afterwards, whatever might be the laws of Mexico, was *murder of the blackest character;* and that if he regarded the preservation of his own life, it would perhaps be well for him to offer no palliation to a crime which would blacken the character of all the officers concerned in it, and would attach disgrace to the Mexican Nation as long as its history should continue to be recorded. I hope, Sir, that you have been able to collect all the facts relative to that affair; and that, in your proposed history, ample justice will be done to the memory of those brave martyrs to our cause, many of whom came from the same state with ourselves.

With great respect, yours, THOMAS J. RUSK."

NOTE.—After the above chapter was set up, and about to be printed, a letter was received from Columbus, Georgia, containing the following statement from one of the survivors of the Goliad massacre. The writer of it is said to have been only fifteen years old when the occurrences described by him took place, and is just twenty-one now. I saw him a few weeks since, as I passed through the county where he resides, and found him a young gentleman of high respectability, and both successfully and extensively engaged in operations connected with the cotton trade.

From the Macon Messenger.

"TEXAS.

The annexed letter of *Samuel G. Hardaway*, we trust, will prove interesting to our readers. It is the only account that has been communicated for publication, of the leading events in the expedition to Texas under Major Ward. Although the writer cannot give an account of the final fate of our unfortunate friends, yet his last knowledge of them leaves them in such a situation that there can be no doubt of their capture in the manner as heretofore published. And from the statements and affidavits of those who escaped the treacherous and horrible massacre of Col. Fannin's battalion, their fate is beyond a question. Their friends are left with this only consolation, that they sustained the character of brave and determined soldiers: and that they rendered valuable services to the sacred cause of Freedom, during their brief career. Georgia will long be proud of furnishing such soldiers in such a cause, and Texas grateful for their aid.

Hardaway, the narrator, is a youth little over sixteen years of age, and son of James H. Hardaway, of this city. His statements may be relied on as strictly correct in every particular he relates, that comes within his personal knowledge.

Macon, June 6, 1836.

Dr. Robert Collins—

Sir: As you were principally instrumental in sending out the company of Volunteers to Texas, under the command of Colonel Ward, and furnishing the means of the expedition, and as there is no officer remaining of the company to tell their fate, and being myself the last man of the original company who made an escape from the enemy previous to the capture and massacre of the Georgia Battalion, I think it proper to give you a plain history of the expedition so far as I am able. It is known to you that we marched from here in the latter part of November of last year, and proceeded to New Orleans; by the usual route from there we embarked on the schooner Pennsylvania, and after being out eleven days, were landed at Velasco, a port of Texas on the Gulf of Mexico, about 400 or 500 miles from New Orleans. Here we remained about a month; nothing extraordinary occurring beyond the usual camp duty, there being at that time but few Mexicans in the country. From here we sailed to Copano, which is another port still further on the coast towards Matamoras. There we landed and marched up to the Mission, as it is commonly called, 12 or 15 miles from the coast. Here we remained about three weeks, and then went up to Goliad, about 27 miles further into the interior. Here we took possession of the Fort and remained in it until the 13th March, when Colonel Ward and the Georgia Battalion were ordered to march in haste to the Mission to relieve Captain King, who, with about 30 men, was down there endeavouring to protect some families, but who had been surrounded by the enemy, and his situation had become desperate. We marched at 3 o'clock in the morning, and arrived at the Mission about 2 o'clock of the same day; and as we expected, found Captain King and his company in the Church and a large company of Mexicans in sight across the river. We succeeded in getting to the Church where we remained till night, when we crossed the river by fording it at a shallow place, and made an attack on them, and completely routed them, killing about 25 with no loss on our side. We then returned to the Church, and early next morning again went out to the Mexican camp, where we saw a few Mexicans endeavouring to carry off their dead, but they made their escape on our approach. From here we went about two miles to a ranch, and burnt the houses and provisions. By this time the enemy began to reinforce so fast in our sight that we had to return forthwith to the Church, and at which we were very soon attacked by their whole force; but having blockaded all the entrances with the images, benches, pews, &c., we had greatly the advantage in position: they came up bravely for a while, received our rifle balls, fell and were carried off, and others took their place, but after a while we could see that it was with great difficulty the officers could whip up their soldiers with their swords to make a charge. This continued until towards evening, when they retired a short distance, but not out of sight. We then started an express to Colonel Fannin to let him know that we were nearly out of ammunition, (having only taken 36 rounds from Goliad, and were still surrounded by a large Mexican force. A Mr. Murphy and a Mr. Rodgers, both I think of Captain Wadsworth's company, were to carry the express, both of whom were pursued by the enemy's cavalry and taken, and I suppose shot. An express from Colonel Fannin to us was also taken. In this battle we got 3 wounded, none killed. The loss of the enemy was variously stated, but believed to be not less than 200, though it was reported more. Captain King's company whom we went down to relieve, had gone out early in the morning before the battle commenced, to a ranch, a few miles distant, and were taken by the enemy, and afterwards all shot but two, who made their escape. That night we made our escape from the Church, and after travelling through the woods and swamps, where the cavalry could not well pursue us, on the third day we reached St. Antonio river. On the second day after leaving the Mission, David I. Holt, of Macon, and a few others, left the company in search of water, and we never saw them again, but now understand they succeeded in getting in safe. That night we lay in the swamp: next morning crossed the river and made our way towards Victoria, and in the evening heard the firing between Colonel Fannin and the Mexicans, apparently distant about ten miles—we attempted to get to them, but night came on and the guns ceased to fire, and we could not proceed, but got into the Guadaloupe swamp where we remained all night, and on leaving it and entering a prairie next morning, we were attacked by a force of 600 cavalry. We fired about three rounds at them when our powder gave out and we had not a load left; we then retreated back to the swamp, and every man was told to take care of himself. We there got scattered, and I never saw Colonel Ward or the company again, but understood that at night while I was asleep in the cane, that he rallied all the men he could, and made his way towards Demit's Landing, but was next day overtaken by the Mexican Cavalry, and having no ammunition, surrendered as prisoners of war, and was carried back to Goliad, and all shot as has been heretofore published. In this battle Wm. L. Wilkinson, of this city, was supposed to be killed. On awaking next morning I found myself alone in a swamp, in a country full of Mexicans, near 200 miles from the main army of the Texans, and thirteen or fourteen hundred miles from my home, then without a mouthful of provision for five or six days, nor was there any prospect of any, except a few wild onions which I could get in the swamp. I remained in this swamp all day and all night: next morning went out and took a small path which I discovered, and kept it for about two miles, came to a Mexican house where I saw several Mexicans in and about the house, but being forced by hunger, I determined to go in and ask for something to eat, let the consequences be what they might. On entering the house one of the men rose and offered me his chair: I asked a woman who was in the house for something to eat; she readily gave me some milk, cheese and dried beef. The men with their guns all looked astonished, and in a few minutes all left the house and appeared to be looking over the country in every direction, I presume expecting an attack from a large force, of which they thought I was the spy. As soon as they all left the house, the woman told me in broken English, that they were all Mexican soldiers, and I had better leave as soon as possible. In a few minutes we saw them returning towards the house, and the woman urged me to start; I did so, and ran towards a swamp which I saw 200 or 300 yards distant; as I run they fired 12 or 15 guns at me, but without effect: they pursued me to the swamp, but I escaped them. I kept in the swamp all day: that night I heard the drum beating at Victoria. Next morning I went near enough to see the Mexican cavalry; I then returned to the swamp and kept it all day, that night went out and made my way up the river until I reached a crossing place, and here I overtook three men that had made their escape from the enemy in the swamp at the same time I did, but whom I had not seen before since we retreated and scattered in the swamp: their names were Andrews, Moses and Treavant. We here got some meal from a house which had been left by the enemy. We remained here all night, and next day made our way through the woods towards the Colorado river, and that night got to a place where the Mexican army had camped a night or two before: here we remained all night, and next morning we reached the river and crossed it on a bale of cotton which we found on the bank, and about two miles above where the enemy were crossing at the same time. We lay in the swamp that day —at night we heard the drum, but supposing it was the enemy, would not go to it. Next morning Moses and myself ventured to go in sight of the camp to see who they were, and soon discovered they were Mexicans; we retreated, and in a short distance saw six horsemen charging towards us; we discovered they were Americans and did not run—they came up, and much to our relief, we found they were spies from General Houston's camp; their names were Cawmack and Johnson, from Tennessee, Shipman and Lapham, of Texas, and two others that I did not know. They were astonished to see us at that place, and when I say we were glad to see them, I but feebly express the feelings of my heart. I was then without hat or shoes, and only a few rags for clothing. While we were here narrating our adventure, and waiting for one of the company who we had got to go back a short distance after Andrews, we were attacked and fired upon by a small scouting party of Mexicans, but at such a distance as to do us no injury; but upon their seeing that we had got among some trees and were prepared to give them a fire, they retreated and left. We then left that place, and the spies carried us to General Houston's army, where we arrived, I think, on the 2d day of April, our appearance being such as to excite the sympathy of every soldier—and on meeting some gentlemen who had known us in this country, the noble tear of compassion was seen to trickle freely on their cheeks. We here received all the kindness we desired, and remained with the army, and fought under General Houston, in Captain Baker's company, in the memorable battle of the 21st April, in which Santa Anna was captured, half his men slain and the other half taken prisoners. Incredible as it may appear, this battle was fought with only about 700 effective men, while the enemy had double that number. The loss on our side was only 6 or 7 killed, and about 20 wounded; among the latter was our Captain and General Houston. The fight commenced in the afternoon about 3 or 4 o'clock, by two six pounders on our side, and a long twelve pound brass piece by the enemy: but by some fortunate shot at the very beginning we silenced their big gun, and pressed down upon them, continuing the fire from our artillery, and receiving the fire from their small arms which was doing us no injury, as they seemed to shoot above us. When we reached within about fifty yards of them we fired two or three rounds from our deadly rifles, which seemed to produce a tremendous effect, and at this moment a charge from all quarters was ordered, and our men rushed upon them with fury and desperation, and with pistols, guns and cutlasses, the destruction of human life was speedy and immense. As soon as we had time to look we saw the white flag was hoisted and the Mexicans had thrown down their arms, and were running in every direction. As soon, however, as the call for quarters was heard and the white flag seen by the commanders, the work of death was stopped, and the balance taken prisoners. Santa Anna himself made his escape that evening, but was taken next morning in a common citizen's dress, about 10 miles from the camp; he was not recognized until he was brought in, but when the prisoners saw him they tipped their hats and exclaimed in their own language, "Santa Anna is alive." The appearance of the battle-ground can better be imagined than described. Piles and clusters of their dead and dying lay in every direction: indeed the ground was literally covered. But the recollection of the dreadful massacre of our brave companions at the Alamo and Goliad in a great manner relieved our feelings from the horrors of the scene.

On the 30th April I left the camp under a furlough from General Houston, for four months, and proceeded over land to Natchitoches, where I arrived after eight days travelling on foot: from there I took the usual route by steamboats, via New Orleans and Mobile, to Montgomery, Ala.

There I understood that a war had broken out with the Creek Indians, and that it would be extremely dangerous to attempt to pass on the stage route through the nation to Columbus; but being anxious to reach home, and finding there a party of about fifteen others who wished to come through, we determined to make the attempt. On Sunday evening, the 15th May, we left there in two mail stages, passed on that night, and next day early reached Tuskegee. There we got breakfast, and learnt there was great trouble with the Indians: we then passed on to the next stand and found that it had been plundered. As we continued on, we found every house and place plundered or burnt, and some burning, until we reached Thorn's Stand, about 20 miles from Columbus; there we saw the houses in flames, and after we had got a short distance off, no injury was done. Our drivers then put whip to their horses and run them nearly half a mile, when we came upon the stages that had been taken the day before, so piled up across the road, with the dead horses and one dead white man, that we could not pass, and the stages were therefore stopped, and we saw the Indians in close pursuit; the drivers and passengers loosed the horses from the stages, and as soon as possible, all who could get on them, mounted and made a start, but in a few minutes they were fired upon by a considerable party of Indians, who seemed to be coming in upon all sides. Not having been so fortunate as to get horses, myself, a Mr. Hallet of New York, a Mr. Williams, Hamil and Lackey, were all on foot running after the horses. The two latter were killed, and the moment after they were shot I ran directly through were the Indians were that had fired, and as I passed two or three others fired at me, but without effect. I made the best of my way towards a swamp, which I saw distant 300 or 400 yards, and discovered I was pursued by two Indians. Just before I reached the swamp I turned and discharged my musket at the foremost, who was within 40 or 50 yards of me; I saw him fall, but before I entered the swamp, I saw him rise again. The skeleton of this Indian was found after the war was over. The other Indian ran up to him and stopped a few minutes, during which time I had got in the swamp and reloaded my gun: he then came down to the swamp and appeared to be searching for me, and while he was in the act of parting the cane, I shot him in the body, not more than 15 or 20 yards distant: he fell dead. I remained in this swamp three days, living on green whortleberries, going out every night, but could not find any road until Thursday night; I got into the road near where the stages were left, and travelled all night back towards Tuskegee, and arrived there on Friday morning about sunrise. Here I was received by General Woodard and treated kindly. I remained here two days, and then went back to Montgomery, and from there, in company with two gentlemen, took the upper route through the nation, on horseback, and on the third day crossed the Chattahoochee, and again set my foot on the soil of Georgia.

Very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
Samuel G. Hardaway."

"The writer of this was a boy of 15 years of age when he entered the army with Captain Ward's company. He will be 21 sometime this month.

Robt. G. Hardaway,
Uncle of S. G. Hardaway."

February 1, 1841.

CHAPTER VII.

General remarks upon the state of the War. Assemblage of the Convention; Declaration of Independence, and framing of a new Constitution. Volunteers at Gonzales. Retreat to the Colorado; retreat to the Brassos; march to the neighbourhood of Harrisburg. Battle of San Jacinto; with anecdotes of various kinds, connected therewith.

The *Barrier* of the San Antonio was now *no more*. The two strong fortresses in the West were in the hands of the enemy. Santa Anna held the *keys* of the interior country in his accursed gripe; not because any modern *Milo* had *surrendered* them, for fear of being cloven down by the sword of a usurper; but in consequence of the faithful *sentinels* having been absolutely slain at their posts. Nearly all the sea-ports of Texas were now again under Mexican domination. The spoiler had even seized upon most of the supplies necessary to the support of the Texan soldiery; nearly all the artillery and ammunition, which had been so laboriously accumulated for the maintenance of the war, had become his prey; and he came dashing towards the East, at the head of more than *eight thousand men*, and nearly thirty pieces of cannon. The greater part of those among the Texans who had heretofore become distinguished for their valour, were now in their graves, or rather, their melancholy remains were to be seen bleaching upon the prairies of the West; and as the destroyer passed, his chariot-wheels literally "rattled amidst the bones of the slain." The eye of FREEDOM could scarce discern aught, in any direction, which seemed at all to promise that the desolating march of the despot would in time be stayed;

> "But still her step at moments falters
> O'er withered fields, and ruined altars,
> And fain would wake, in souls too broken,
> By pointing to each glorious token;
> But vain her voice, till better days
> Dawn in those yet remembered rays,
> Which shone upon *Salcedo* flying,
> And saw great *Milam* smile in dying."

The wild *panic* which Fannin had all along predicted, came upon the country, as a Simoom from the desert. Nor was there any thing at all marvellous in the verification of the oft-repeated prophecy of the martyred chieftain. The most obvious principles of human nature led to this general panic. The most valiant men will fly, and ought to fly from dangers which they have no sufficient means of resisting. Those who, had they been *drawn together seasonably*, and duly *organized*, as the lamented hero of Conception had constantly urged, would have been able, even after the fall of Bejar and Labahia, to have taken a stand at Victoria or Gonzales, and driven back Santa Anna's army with disgrace beyond the border, were now a scattered and unconnected multitude, without concert, or arms, or any thing; and the best that the most potent of them could for the present *individually* do, was to run with their wives and their little ones, beyond the rage of the barbarian foe.

The question, doubtless, arises in the minds of many, *who* was to blame for the present unhappy and alarming condition of the country? Whose *mismanagement*, or *inaction*, if any, had brought on this perilous crisis? *In Texas proper*, there seems to have been some difference of opinion on the point; Texas is the seat and source of all information on this subject, and perhaps it would be justifiable for the historian to exclaim, “When doctors differ, who shall decide?” But, moreover, how can this question be settled without giving offence to some, whose general merits have, perchance, surrounded them with friends who stand ready to resent any imagined assailment on the fame of a beloved *idol* or *idols*. The interrogatory might even be propounded judiciously enough, “*What good* would arise from the decision of the question at this moment, to Texas or the world? Posterity will not fail to do *justice*, in spite of all that may be done by any of the present generation, either to *suffocate truth*, or to give *currency to falsehood*. Its terrible and irreversible sentence will be uttered some day, when those who now live, are but dust and ashes. As for myself I have only engaged to write an *impartial* history of the war in Texas; and so far, under all disadvantages, I know that I have performed the pledge. I did not engage to enter upon the arena of *personal contention;* and those who first honoured me with a call to undertake this work, would have scorned to propose that I should do so. It would be *base* in me to attempt to disturb the civic quiet of that young and happy Republic, whose *single star* now shines so serenely in the far South-West; and heaven knows it is far from my desire. A period *may* arise, when even I may feel bound to speak out more plainly about this matter; for I pretend not to such dullness as would be indicated by the predicament of having yet made up no opinion. Circumstances could be easily imagined, which might stimulate even a sober narrator of historic incidents to cast off the troublesome veil of *reserve*, and to throw *delicacy* to the winds. In the mean time, I am content to assert as follows:—Those who commanded at Goliad and Bexar are not censurable for *any thing;* neither Rome nor Greece ever produced such heroes; and the heartless wretch who would attempt to besmirch the laurels of the *great en-*

tombed, would awaken the indignation of the civilized world. There can be no *such man;*

> "But if there be, go mark him well,
> For him no minstrel's strains shall swell,
> High though his title, proud his name,
> Boundless his wealth, as wish can claim;
> The wretch, concentred all in self,
> Despite those titles, power and pelf,
> Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
> And doubly dying, shall go down
> To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
> Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

The Anglo-American population of Texas, as a mass, are not deserving of reproach; they did, under the circumstances, in their unorganized condition, all that they had it in their power to do; their valour and devotion to Freedom are far too well attested to be drawn at all into question; and he who, from any motives, would essay to throw discredit upon them, would find his feeble voice of murmur lost, in an instant, amid the earth-shaking clangour of that Trumpet which thunders forth the undying glories of Velasco, of the Alamo, Labahia, Conception, and last, though not least in renown, the matchless deeds which have immortalized the plains of San Jacinto. *The Volunteers from the United States!* "The world knows their history by heart." They need no defence; and the man is not living who dares assail them. *The Convention* who assembled to declare Independence, and frame a Constitution, cannot be complained of justly; since the enemy had reached the confines of Texas, ere their labours had commenced. With these remarks, I dismiss the subject, promising, though unwilling to deal in the language of accusation, with a rigid fidelity, still, as heretofore, to supply all such *facts* as I may find authenticated; and thus, perchance, enabling bolder, or more *authorized* men, to arrive at such conclusions as, living, they will not be ashamed to entertain, or, dying, they may not be compelled by *conscience* to revoke.

Before we follow, step by step, the sweeping career of the Mexican *Ravager*, it will be expedient to return to the Hall of the Texan Convention, which, it will be recollected, had begun its session on the first of March. The various articles of the Constitution had been agreed on, after much discussion; when, on the evening of the 15th of the month, news of the fall of the Alamo reached the Town of Washington. The sitting of the day had been regularly closed; but the members of the Convention were soon called together by special summons; and the first proposition which was made, was one which originated with the President of the body: he urged an immediate adjournment to *Bradshaw's*, a private house, about 40 miles distant from Nacogdoches, and about 100 from the Town of Washington. Let no one who was not himself an actor in that scene, too harshly censure this proposition of Judge Ellis, or charge it to unauthorized alarm! A highly tumultuous discussion now ensued, and the motion of adjournment was negatived. The Constitution was then drawn up and subscribed; after which a motion was introduced, having for its object the organization of a government *ad interim*, and an *Executive Ordinance* was framed and adopted, defining the powers of the new government. It was then resolved by the Convention to go into an immediate election of civil officers; and David G. Burnet was elected first President of the Republic of Texas, and Lorenzo D. Zavala first Vice President. The President elect was conducted to the Hall of the Convention, and delivered an appropriate address on the occasion. A very neat and spirited address was at the same time pronounced by Colonel Samuel P. Carson, who had been nominated in opposition to Judge Burnet for the Presidency. It is proper here to state that the contest for this high station had engendered no feelings of ill-will between the rival candidates; but they remained then, and ever after, up to the lamented death of Colonel Carson, intimate and devoted personal friends. An election of Cabinet officers was then gone into; when Samuel P. Carson was chosen Secretary of State; Bailey Hardeman, Secretary of the Treasury; Thomas J. Rusk, Secretary of War; Robert Potter, Secretary of the Navy; and David Thomas, Attorney-General, of the new Republic. The Convention then adjourned, *sine die;* and, on the 17th of March, President Burnet assembled a Cabinet Council, at which various minor arrangements were concerted; and it was, at the same time, determined to remove the government from the Town of Washington to the Town of Harrisburg, on Buffalo Bayou, which was accordingly done. By this time, the 20th of March had arrived: the whole country was in a state of alarm and confusion; the enemy was rapidly advancing, and the Texan army was retreating with all convenient haste from Gonzales towards the Brassos river. Few persons of respectability were left in the Town of Washington, when the government officers took their departure.

Let us now take a view of the military movements, which had been in the mean time proceeding on either side. It was on the second of March, on the arrival of intelligence from San Antonio that the Town was besieged by the army of Santa Anna, that General Houston, some time since mentioned as Commander-in-chief, and who was also a member of the Convention, promulged the subjoined notice.

"ARMY ORDERS.

Convention Hall, Washington, March 2, 1836.

War is raging on the frontiers. Bejar is besieged by two thousand of the enemy, under the command of General Sezma. Reinforcements are on their march, to unite with the besieging army. By the last report, our force in Bejar was only one hundred and fifty men strong. The citizens of Texas must rally to the aid of our army, or it will perish. Let the citizens of the East march to the combat. The enemy must be driven from our soil, or desolation will accompany their march upon us. *Independence is de-*

clared, it must be maintained. Immediate action, united with valour, alone can achieve the great work. The services of all are forthwith required in the field.

SAM. HOUSTON,
Commander-in-chief of the Army.

P. S. It is rumoured that the enemy are on their march to Gonzales, and that they have entered the colonies. The fate of Bejar is unknown. The country must and shall be defended. The patriots of Texas are *appealed to in behalf of their bleeding country.* S. H."

General Houston and staff reached Gonzales on the night of the 10th of March, bringing with them the *Declaration of Independence*, which had not before been seen in camp, and the laws regulating the organization of the Militia of Texas. There were then at Gonzales, between three hundred and fifty and four hundred soldiers ready to do service; who had been several days in the neighbourhood waiting to be organized, and eager to be led against the foe. They consisted of citizens from the banks of the Brassos, Colorado, and Guadaloupe, and the fine company of Kentucky Volunteers, under the command of the gallant Captain Sherman, who afterwards became so distinguished in the battle of San Jacinto. An order was next day issued by the Commander-in-chief, that the forces should arrange themselves in companies, and proceed to the election of field-officers. This election took place accordingly, and Edward Burleson was chosen Colonel, Sidney Sherman, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Alexander Somerville, Major of the Regiment, which now took the denomination of the First Regiment of the Volunteer Army of Texas.

The election just spoken of had not been very long over, when the arrival of a Mexican produced considerable stir in camp. This man was bearer of the melancholy tidings relative to the tragic scene of the Alamo. There were several circumstances which led the Commander-in-chief to distrust the statement of the Mexican, among which was the considerable space of time which had now intervened since that fatal occurrence was alleged by him to have taken place. It was judged most politic to despatch a scouting party in the direction of Bexar, to ascertain what was the actual truth of the matter; and, in the mean time, to hold the bringer of such doleful intelligence in durance as a spy; all of which was accordingly done; the celebrated Deaf Smith, Captain Carnes, and Captain Handy gallantly volunteering upon this perilous service, who went out resolved to penetrate, if necessary, to the Town of Bexar. The scouting party returned to camp on the night succeeding their departure, bringing with them Mrs. Dickinson, the relict of one of the victims in the Alamo, together with the servant of Colonel Travis, and the servant of Almonte, a Mexican officer. Carnes and his associates reported that they had encountered Mrs. Dickinson and the persons just mentioned, about 20 miles from Gonzales, on their way to the Texan army. All the dreadful incidents connected with the massacre of Travis and his gallant comrades were announced; and the picture of horrors is represented to have been drawn by the unhappy lady in colours which glowingly reflected the grim realities which she had beheld. General Houston did not long hesitate as to the course to be pursued. Feeling perfectly assured that he was in no plight to encounter the enemy in case he should arrive in strong force, and knowing nothing of the actual movements of Santa Anna, he determined on retreating without delay; and an order was issued for that purpose immediately, which, unfortunately, was so despatchfully executed, that the necessity of drawing in the picket-guard* was, at the moment, entirely overlooked, and they were left behind, to be afterwards relieved. The Artillery[*] (consisting of two brass 24 pounders) was thrown into the river to prevent the enemy's getting possession of it; and the Town of Gonzales[†] was reduced to ashes to prevent it from being occupied by Santa Anna's soldiers. Most of the families of the settlement fled with the army, and all proceeded in the direction of the Colorado river. The line of march had been taken up just before midnight; and the army advanced rapidly all night; and pushed forward again, with unslackened speed, next day, encamping in the evening on the bank of the Labaca, at a place called *Daniel's*. Here no delay ensued, but the retreat continued, and the army took up quarters near the Navidad on the night of the 13th of March. Whilst encamped at this place, a heavy rain poured in torrents upon the unsheltered soldiers of Freedom, but they displayed, under the "pelting of the pitiless elements," the most absolute patience and resignation. On the fourteenth the retreat was still continued, without intermission, and the army arrived at Burnham's, on the bank of the river Colorado. A day was now occupied in getting the families, heretofore accompanying the march of the army, across the river.

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* This fact is given on the statement of Captain Sharpe, one of those who were thus unfortunately left behind. He adds: "Colonel Handy and Captain Carnes came back, in an hour or two, to relieve us."

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[*] This fact is mentioned on the authority of Colonel Hockley, who executed the order for the submersion of the cannon.

[†] Here I again rely on the intelligent narrative of Captain Sharpe, whose verity is beyond question. He was one of those who performed the work of destruction. His language is: "Captain Carnes then told us that the orders were to burn the Town, and that not a roof large enough to shelter a Mexican's head was to be left, with everything else that could be of any service to the enemy. We divided ourselves into two parties, one party to commence at one end of the Town, the other at the other end, and meet. There were some four or five in each party, and we made rapid work of it. The houses were principally framed, covered with thin boards, split from the oak, similar to barrel staves. In the course of a few minutes the flames began their work of destruction, and by dawn every house was burning, or had crumbled to ashes. 'Twas a scene, the like of which I never before or since, have witnessed. I entered several houses, and found the beds yet warm, on which the inhabitants had, but a short time before, laid down, full of confidence and hope, and from which they had been awakened by the wild Tocsin of alarm and had fled, leaving all they had been for years collecting,—all for which they had braved the dangers of the wilderness,—ALL, everything they had, whilst they themselves fled they knew not whither, probably many of them without a dollar or a friend on earth." This affecting narrative of Captain Sharpe derives double *pathos* from the fact that most of those able to bear arms about Gonzales had, a few days before, rushed to the relief of Travis and his associates in the Alamo; had broken through the ranks of the besieging army, and had reached the fort in safety, only to add to the number of victims who perished in that dreadful massacre. One who was at Gonzales when the tidings of the unhappy fate of these noble fellows was received, thus describes the spectacle unfolded. "Not less than twenty women, with young and helpless children, were made widows. Fathers had lost sons, brother had lost brother. In short, there was not a family in the once happy and flourishing settlement of Gonzales, that did not mourn the death of some murdered relative. * * * * * For several hours after the receipt of the intelligence, not a sound was heard, save the wild shrieks of the women, and the heart-rending screams of the fatherless children. Little groups of men might be seen, in various corners of the Town, brooding over the past and speculating on the future; but they scarce spoke above a whisper, for here the public and private grief was alike heavy, and sunk deep into the heart of the rudest soldier."

Next morning, the retreat was resumed, the army winding along the course of the river, aiming to strike a somewhat noted point on its bank, called Beason's Crossing. Several scouts,* of known fidelity and vigilance, had meanwhile been despatched to the West, with orders to obtain some information relative to the movements of the enemy, if practicable, and to rejoin the army at Beason's, and report the result of their labours. The movement of the

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* To one of these scouts, the worthy gentleman before quoted from, Captain Sharpe, I am indebted for a very minute account of their perilous expedition, which the reader will probably peruse with additional interest, when he learns that *Deaf Smith* was one of the party. "There was a call made," says my informant, "for a cavalry company, who were to go back the way we had come, and see if they could find the enemy. I volunteered for one. We were to meet at Burnham's house in the afternoon, and start. When we mustered our forces, there were but nine of us. We got some provisions, and corn for our horses, in a wallet, which each of us carried on our saddles, and started. About one hour before night, we cooked our suppers, at the Navidad, and rode on to find a sleeping place, which we did, under a spreading post-oak, some distance from the road, in the prairie, without a fire. We took this precaution on account of the Indians, or any straggling band of Mexicans, who might have been out, like ourselves, *spying*.

17th March. In the morning caught our horses, and rode on till we came within some two or three miles of Rock Creek, and then struck across the prairie, on the road that led to Beason's. The dew had fallen very heavy the night before; and the road, being light sand, was completely saturated. We had no sooner struck the road, than we saw fresh horse-tracks going towards Beason's. Deaf Smith, (for he was along,) got off his horse, and examined them, and said, that at least ten or twelve horses had passed there, and not more than an hour before. Every man examined his arms, and put them in order for fighting. We started at a brisk gait, following them, and in a short time saw six soldiers, on a hill, some two or three hundred yards from the road, on horseback; two or three of them with led horses. They saw us, and immediately fled, leaving the horses they were leading, and scattering off in different directions. We pursued them, and, as we got nearer to them, fired our pistols off at them; but they kept ahead of us, until one of their horses was lamed by a shot from Col. Handy; and the fellow turned to make fight with his lance, and shot at Col. Carnes as he passed him, in pursuit of the others, with a pistol. Secrest came up to him, and shot him through the body, the fellow still resisting; when Secrest shot him through the head, and he fell. We still continued to pursue the balance of them, they making for the Navidad bottom, which, at this place, was a complete thicket of under-brush, so much so, that a man on horseback could not penetrate it. The Mexicans, as soon as they came to the edge of it, threw themselves off their mules, and plunged into the thicket. We were not more than a hundred yards behind them, and did the same, not stopping to tie our horses, but running into the thicket after them. I came to the creek, which here had very steep banks, and jumped in, and was wading across, when my horse, who was as much excited at the chase as myself, came plunging through the thicket, and into the creek after me. The first leap he made into the creek, he struck me with his foot on the leg, and knocked me down in the creek, wetting myself and my gun all over. I managed to scramble out, nothing hurt, and picking fresh powder into my gun, continued the search, until I was recalled by some of our companions shouting for my return. I found Carnes, Deaf Smith, and a young man by the name of Murphy, waiting my return. They had taken one prisoner, who, poor devil, was so busily engaged pleading for his life, that we could get little out of him, for some time. At last, by threats, and promises to spare his life, he told us that the Mexican army had encamped, the night before, at Daniels, on the Labaca, and that this party had been army was consequently rather tardy until Beason's was reached, which was not until the 18th of March, about noon. The spying party had got back to the bank of the Colorado some fifteen hours before the army came in sight. They were bearers of intelligence of a character highly important and interesting. A division of the Mexican army was in the neighbourhood, and rapidly approaching,

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sent out from the advance guard, at Rock Creek, as a Spy Company; and that there were but *six or eight hundred men* in that division, with two pieces of artillery, and some sixty or seventy cavalry, all under the command of General Sezma. Carnes, Murphy, and myself, had lost our horses; though Carnes had taken one of the horses left by the Mexicans. We tied the prisoner's hands behind his back; and Murphy, and myself, with Deaf Smith, started back on the track of pursuit, and found two lances, one wallet of provisions, and two hats and cloaks, dropped by the Mexicans in their hurry to get off. We went to the body of the one who was killed, took off his sword, and found his lance lying behind him, and took the pistols out of his holsters; his horse being ham-strung by the shot of Colonel Handy, could not stir from the spot where he had been struck. We now returned to the road, and re-crossed the Navidad, at Thompson's. There we opened the wallets of the Mexicans, and eat, being the first refreshment we had taken that day. We then burnt the house, and started, Murphy, myself, and the prisoner on foot, and Deaf Smith on horseback, for Beason's. Carnes and Secrest had gone to look for our horses. After walking some distance, they overtook us, and with two horses belonging to the party we had pursued, but had not been able to find ours. Mr. J. D. Owen, C. M. Harmon, and B. C. Franklin, also came up with them. Murphy and myself mounted the horses brought up by Carnes and Secrest, one with saddle and bridle, the other only with a rope; and, lifting the prisoner behind Mr. Franklin, we hurried on towards the Colorado as fast as possible. We knew that the Mexican army could not be more than five miles behind us, and there were but six of *us;* so we had not time to spare. The horse I was on was one of those abandoned by the fugitives at the edge of the thicket, and was completely broken down; and, after riding two or three miles, I was obliged to leave him and walk, occasionally relieved by some of those who were mounted. We arrived at Beason's about dark, and found a guard posted there by Captain Wiley Martin's company, who had been ordered to stop here for the army. Mr. Owen took the prisoner on to meet General Houston, who was on his way, with the army, coming down to Beason's. The balance of our party stayed at the river that night."

under General Sezma. This division was eight hundred strong, was supplied with two pieces of artillery, and had only sixty or seventy cavalry. The Texan scouting party had encountered a spying detachment of the enemy; had attacked and forced those who composed it to a precipitate retreat, killing one of their number and taking another prisoner. Such were the tidings which reached the Commander-in-chief, whilst yet on the way to Beason's. The superstitious ancients would have pronounced this achievement of the valorous Smith and his equally meritorious companions *a good omen;* the advantage which might now arise to Texas, with the exercise of proper skill and promptitude, was a matter which could not fail to be obvious to all. The Texan army encamped on the western bank of the Colorado, opposite* Beason's in the edge of a piece of timber, having a beautiful prairie in front of about two hundred yards in width, terminating at the river bank. On the 19th of March, several companies were sent into the river to defend the crossing, under the command of Col. B. F. Smith, now acting as Quarter-Master General. These companies crossed the river; and those on foot were stationed at Beason's house, and the remainder, who were mounted men, were formed by Col. Smith, immediately, into a reconnoitring company, whose business it was to go in the direction of the enemy conjectured to be now approaching, in order to learn as much as possible of their strength, and probable designs. This reconnoitring party had not gone far upon their contemplated mission, ere they encountered the picket guard of the Texan army, who came in at the top of his speed, announcing that the enemy were in sight, and that he had been fired upon by them. Upon which, the Texan horsemen returned to Beason's, and were occupied, for a few minutes, in endeavouring to drive in some cattle belonging to the Texan army, and which were in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. This they were unable to accomplish, and returned to Beason's house, which they set* fire to, together with the out-buildings of the establishment, and retreated to the eastern side of the river, ere the foe had arrived at the scene of action; on reaching which, Colonel Smith quickly established his men amidst the tall cane which there skirted the margin of the river, so as to place them entirely out of the view of the enemy from the opposite bank. That night this brave and active corps cut down some trees in front of the landing, and dug trenches to stand in, that they might defend the crossing as advantageously as possible in case the enemy should attempt to pass the river. The Mexicans actually encamped at a crossing three miles above, called Dewer's; and Captain Patten, a brave and energetic officer, was despatched to defend the eastern bank of the river at this point: the company of Col. Smith being recalled to the main army next morning. On the evening of the 22d, some symptoms were presented by the Mexican force of a disposition to cross the river, at the upper ford; and Col. Smith's band of fearless volunteers, who had lately constituted the reconnoitring party spoken of, were despatched thither, to aid Patten in obstructing their movement. In point of fact, no effort to reach the eastern bank of the Colorado, was made by the enemy; and surely nothing but the most foolish temerity could have caused them thus to rush upon certain ruin. For the whole Mexican force that had arrived at this point, in confirmation of what had been previously communicated by the scouting party already referred to, was now satisfactorily ascertained only to amount to eight hundred men at most, whilst the Army of Freedom had been accumulating additional strength every day; and certainly amounted, on the 25th of March, to at least fourteen hundred as valiant soldiers as ever fired a rifle or wielded a sword. The armies lay in sight of each other at Beason's for six days, neither attempting in the least to molest the other.* It has been thought by some, that the situation of Gen. Houston for attacking the

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* I will here mention, that the operations of the Texan army from this period to the close of the campaign, by the splendid victory of San Jacinto, have been a subject of much dispute. No official publication of any kind was made, in consequence of the unhappy state of the country: the office of the Telegraph at San Felipe, was about this time broken up by the enemy, and I have been compelled to rely upon the statements of those who were in the army relative to every material fact. These, fortunately, have been furnished very freely, and I have now lying by me some *thirty* different *narratives*, *voluntarily* handed in by *respectable men*, all of which are concurrent as to essential points. Where a conflict between them has been discovered, I have uniformly adopted the statement most favourable to the Commander-in-chief; believing this to be the most prudent course, under the circumstances.

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* Here our old friend, Captain Sharpe, who was one of the reconnoitring party of Col. Smith, aids me again in the citation of particulars. The Captain says, in his artless and simple style of narration: "Beason had a large quantity of corn in his crib, and, attached to his gin was a mill, which might have been of service to the enemy, in grinding corn for the army; the house, also, was large, and would have accommodated a large body of the enemy, and have served to protect them, in case we had made an attack upon them. We, therefore, concluded to burn every thing standing, and retreat across the river; which we did before the enemy had come in sight."

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* Writers who have preceded me in the task of recording the events of this interesting campaign, seem to have glided over the space of time now under review with little notice of the circumstances which transpired. The precise strength of the opposing armies at Beason's, so far as I know, has not heretofore been given. I have exercised more than ordinary diligence on this point, and have set down the lowest of all the estimates having proper claims to authenticity, which have been handed to me. Captain William I. E. Heard, a gentleman well known, both in the United States and Texas, as a man of singularly irreproachable character, and who, as I know from a personal acquaintance of 15 years, is as *truthful* as he is *brave*, is of opinion, that the Texan army was, at this time, including several squads of volunteers, known to be in the vicinage and *available*, between sixteen and seventeen hundred strong: and in this opinion he is sustained by the statements of several others of equal respectability. Our old friend, Captain Sharpe, says: "The reports of our spies were, that the enemy could not be more than from six to eight hundred strong, while we had been gaining strength every day. Our army could not, at this time, have amounted to less than *fourteen hundred men*." If there be any evidence in Texas disproving this statement, I confess I have not been fortunate enough to hear of it.

Mexican army opposed to him, at this time, was highly favourable; and it must be acknowledged to have been so, in several respects; whilst objections to such a movement have been suggested, that certainly should be taken into consideration in pronouncing upon the merits of that commander. I shall endeavour, in a spirit of *impartiality*, to elucidate this point a little, and I choose to do so by stating the views entertained on either side in Texas, so far as I have been able to ascertain the same. Those who are of opinion that a more energetic plan of operation, on the part of the Texan General-in-chief would have been politic, express themselves somewhat thus:

"The eight hundred Mexicans under Sezma, were posted upon a piece of level prairie, having interposed between them and the river, a small body of timber, which had the advantage of being free from under-growth. The army of Freedom had in their possession the only two boats with which the river at this place was furnished. How easy would it have been for the Commander-in-Chief, by means of these same boats, to have thrown his whole force at any moment upon the opposite bank of the Colorado! Such a movement, performed in the night, would have taken the enemy completely by surprise, and a more thorough victory than that at *Princeton*, in the annals of our fathers, would have been the inevitable result. The fourteen hundred Anglo-Americans might have been landed on the edge of the piece of timber, between the enemy and the river, some fine morning before daylight, have passed through the forest, and their presence would have been wholly unconjectured, before they had suddenly debouched upon the foe. It is plain, that Sezma and his army of eight hundred might have been routed and destroyed without losing a man. Such an achievement as this would have been every thing to Texas, at the moment. The Anglo-Americans had grown dispirited, their foes were elated; the first would have had new courage and confidence infused into them; the latter would have experienced the full force of a retaliated panic. But the victory at Beason's need not have closed the career of triumph; but would plainly have thrown open the door to other achievements still more signal. At the head of fourteen hundred victors flushed with success, whose ranks would have swelled by scores and hundreds as they dashed onward, the Commander-in-Chief of the valiant Texans, like Frederic of Prussia, or Napoleon, or Jackson, might have pushed rapidly in pursuit of the remaining *divisions*, into which the temerity of Santa Anna had broken his grand army of barbarian soldiers. Encountering the nearest of these, he might have demollished it with such men as fought at San Jacinto, at a single blow; and *victory* still perched aloft upon the Banner of *Freedom*, would herself have led the rushing, triumphant charge against the surviving squadrons of the *Tyrant*. This was the *critical* moment; now might the war have been terminated in *ten days;* now might the yet unburied martyrs of the cause of Independence have been sublimely avenged; and the scenes of devastation, on both sides, have been brought to a close. This would have been truly, what one already quoted has styled, "anticipating the enemy, and destroying him in detail; striking blow after blow, giving him no time to recover himself, *demoralising* him, and taking from him all his presence of mind and his courage."

"Again," it is argued, "if, after the destrüction of this advanced division of eight hundred at Beason's, the Texan Commander had judged it imprudent to go in pursuit of other fragments of the barbarian host, at least he could have thrown himself back to the strong position he then occupied on the Colorado, and there, receiving reinforcements of fifty or a hundred per day, he would have been able to give shelter to all the country to the East, and have been ready to take advantage of any false move which the enemy might make. If Santa Anna, under such circumstances, should venture upon an advance to Harrisburg, or scour the country still farther, as he announced his intention to do, he would soon find himself wedged in hopelessly between a strong army of Texans in Central Texas, and a still stronger one composed of the patriotic Anglo-Americans, who would rush to the rescue of Independence from the banks of the Trinity and Sabine, strengthened by ten thousand volunteers from the United States, if necessary."

Thus is the point reasoned on one side. On the other it is said, and with some plausibility: "How was it possible safely to attack these eight hundred under Sezma, at the Colorado? They had two pieces of Artillery. The Texan General had no cannon; the only two pieces he had seen, since he had assumed the command of the army in person, he had felt bound, by dire necessity, to throw into the river at Gonzales. Besides, what guarantee had he, that whilst engaged with Sezma, Santa Anna might not come up, with his remaining thousands, cavalry, cannon, and all, and repeat the dread scenes of universal slaughter with which he was yet reeking from the West? Should the *only army* of Texas be thus put in jeopardy? Should the fate of Liberty be made to turn upon a *single battle?* Did not Washington retreat from New York, along the whole line of New Jersey, into Pennsylvania, before the British army? And did not all the world honour him for doing so? Did not Fabius Maximus save Rome more by *caution*, than by active, daring valour? It would have been the height of madness to have gone into battle under such circumstances."

Men will settle this question, everywhere, somewhat under the guidance both of judgment and sensibility. For my own part, I am willing to leave to others the pronunciation of a verdict in the case: "*Non nobis, tantas componere lites.*"

I return to the two armies. Nothing important occurred, up to the 25th of March. On the 24th, a rumour reached the camp relative to the unfortunate fate of Fannin and his valiant comrades; but no great importance was attached to it. The army had manifested an eagerness, which may be pronounced to have been *unanimous*, to engage the foe. It is confidently believed, that there was not an officer or private, who either thought of flying again before the enemy, or could have been persuaded to do so, up to the reception of authentic intelligence relative to Fannin's defeat; which did not reach the camp on the Colorado, until the evening of the 25th of March. When the horrible particulars of this heart-rending transaction broke upon the army, it awakened feelings of distress and mortification difficult to be described. Some have said that a *wild panic* pervaded the camp of Freedom. Nothing is farther from the truth. Deeply shocked, as were the sensibilities of all, there were few among the fourteen hundred soldiers there assembled, who would not have heroically encountered Santa Anna, had he then appeared, at the head of his whole army.*

Shortly after the intelligence of the Goliad massacre was made public in camp, a rumour became prevalent, the origin of which I have not been able to trace with perfect accuracy, that the Texan Commander-in-Chief, having no longer any hope of being able, with his present numbers, to check the advance of the enemy, had resolved to march, without delay, towards the confines of the United States; with a view to recruiting the Army of Freedom from the Red-land population, and among the Anglo-Americans beyond the Sabine. Much solicitude was naturally awakened by this rumour among that portion of the army which consisted of planters from the banks of the Colorado, Brassos, and all the central settlements, who began to be seriously apprehensive of being soon left *alone*, with their families, to encounter the vengeance of the foe. This feeling was perfectly natural; and the less to be wondered at, since these brave men had left their homes without providing for the safety of those who were dear to them, and they had reason to believe, that the scattering thousands of the Mexican host were already in the vicinage of their habitations. Under such circumstances, Captain Heard, a gentleman already spoken of, (a wealthy and intelligent planter from the fertile settlement of Peach Creek, and whose family

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* It gives me pleasure to disabuse the public mind, as far as my capacity of doing so, will effect such a purpose, of an impression which has existed to some extent, that General Houston's original design was to continue the retreat of the army to the neighbourhood of Nacogdoches, with a view to recruiting its ranks by volunteers from the United States. I feel well satisfied, from numerous testimonials in my hands, that this scheme was not brought forward until some time afterwards. General Houston, I am convinced, contemplated a struggle with the enemy somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Colorado river up to the 25th of March. From a mass of documents, I select a short sentence or two on this point, considered as *conclusive*. "On the 25th instant," says Captain Sharpe, "I was ordered to go on express to Velasco, carrying despatches to Major Wm. Austin, Commandant of that post. Whilst receiving my papers, General Houston told me to tell the people down in that part of the country, not to run any farther; that they were safe; there would be no more retreating; and that the next news they would hear from the army would be of a *battle*, the result of which no one could doubt." If the statement of the gallant Sharp stood in need of confirmation on this point, it would be found fully established by the following proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief issued on the 21st of March:

"*Head Quarters, Camp near Beason's, March* 21, 1836.

ARMY ORDERS.

The Chairman of the Committee of Safety at San Felipe, will take such immediate measures as will arrest the deserters from the army—all persons leaving the country in a direction from the enemy, will be required to return, or their arms taken from them for the use of the army. Families moving for safety will be entitled to one armed man for their protection. Victory is inevitable, if unity of action and good order is preserved. The force of the enemy before us is yet small, and if reinforcements should not arrive to him, his defeat is certain, if discipline and subordination are *firmly* established. Our spies have had a skirmish with a reconnoitring party in his advance, and evidently checked his movements.

I have sent a force of near two hundred men on the west side of the river. In a few days I hope to have force sufficient to capture the enemy before he can reach the Guadaloupe.

Sam. Houston,
Commander-in-Chief.'

connection[*] alone, embraced some twenty or thirty of the most substantial and worthy settlers of the country,) was deputed by his brother planters, most of whom belonged to the fine company which he commanded, to call upon the General in Chief, in order to ascertain truly what was his design in regard to the rumoured retreat, and, in the event of their fears being confirmed, to demand *furloughs* for them all, by authority of which, they would be enabled to return to their own residences, remove their families to a place of safety, and fly again to the aid of their fellow-soldiers. Captain Heard's statement, giving the particulars of this interview with the Commander-in-Chief, is before me, corroborated by the evidence of various others; and it would be easy to enlarge on this topic, if I deemed it necessary.

The furloughs were granted; and these valiant men retired, for a season, from the army, for the purposes named. It is almost useless to say that they afterwards rejoined their fellow-soldiers at intermediate points upon the line of retreat, and fought nobly on the field of San Jacinto. The retreat of the Texan army towards the Brassos was commenced that evening. It could not be expected, perhaps, that such a movement, under the circumstances, would be executed with perfect order and regularity. In point of fact, the picket guard[†] were again unfortunately left at their posts, and suffered many discomforts in consequence thereof. I do not feel authorized to indulge in the language of censure in relation to the course pursued at this time by the Commander-in-Chief. It is probable that no one who was not an observer of all the circumstances by which he was surrounded, could be entirely competent to judge of its propriety or impropriety. Besides, it should be considered, that he had then never encountered a Mexican army; perhaps knew little of their inferiority to Anglo-American soldiers, and had, therefore, possibly over-estimated the existing dangers. It is presumable, that after the battle of San Jacinto, he would hardly have thought it necessary to retire before such puny warriors. The immediate and undeniable effect of the retreat was a prodigious falling off in the strength of the army: insomuch, that less than eight hundred warriors had ultimately to engage the enemy at San Jacinto, though a considerable number of these heroic men had not been with the Commander-in-Chief at the Colorado at all. The Army, after taking up the line of retreat towards the Brassos, marched with considerable expedition to the Town of San Felipe;[*] but did not tarry long here, being anxious to reach Groce's ferry, the most commodious crossing place on the river, before the enemy, who was understood to be rapidly pushing forward in the same direction; and the Texan forces actually arrived in

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[*] This connection embraces all the *Sutherlands*, *Mennifees*, *Mercers*, and a dozen other respectable names, well known, both in Texas and the United States, and as I, who speak from personal knowledge, can attest, containing as much moral worth, of every kind, as any body of men, of the same number, anywhere to be found in the civilized world.

[†] Captain Heard's statement relative to this unfortunate abandonment of these noble fellows, is as follows: "When the army commenced retreating from this place, a man called *Moses Lapham*, and two others, were left on picket guard, and remained in this condition several days without provisions, and frequently in sight of the enemy. For many days, the friends of poor Lapham believed him to have fallen a victim, &c. &c. But he afterwards came up to the camp, fought at San Jacinto, and was one of those, who, with Deaf Smith, and others, destroyed the bridge over which the enemy were expecting reinforcements."

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[*] It is gratifying to observe, that this place, which may be considered as having something of a classic dignity in Texan annals, being undeniably the *cradle of Freedom and Independence*, and the focus of information, as well as excitement, for years, up to this period, was yet the theatre of active patriotic exertion; of which the following interesting memorials have been placed in my hands. An article in the San Felipe Telegraph, among the last numbers of that patriotic gazette ever issued, reads as follows:

"On Saturday last, the militia of this place held an election for officers. Moseley Baker, Esq., was elected captain, John P. Borden, first lieutenant, and E. B. Wood second lieutenant. Captain Baker proceeded forthwith to organize the company, many of whom turned out as volunteers, who, with several gentlemen from the United States, constituted a company of thirty men. On Monday, being mustered, and ready to march, Gail Borden, Jr., in the name of two ladies of this jurisdiction, presented Captain Baker and his company with a stand of colours, accompanied with their earnest prayer, that, under it, they and their children might be protected from the merciless invaders of their homes.

To which Captain Baker returned the following answer:—

'MR. BORDEN,—In behalf of the San Felipe company and for myself, I return you, and through you to the ladies, our heartfelt thanks for the colours so unexpectedly presented. This banner of Independence, the work and the gift of beauty, is the most valuable gift, save the independence of Texas, that could have been bestowed upon this company; and these citizen soldiers and myself will never cease to recollect the now endeared names of the fair donators, or cease to cherish the pleasing and heart-gratifying emotions produced by the recollections of this day. Give, sir, to the ladies our solemn declaration, that this Texas banner, presenting the cross, the stripes, and the star, shall wave triumphant from our ranks, so long as an arm can be raised to uphold it. Tell them that dishonoured it never shall be, so long as an individual of the San Felipe Company is left to behold it. For myself, it shall never fall or retreat, until my heart ceases to beat.

Fellow-citizens and citizen-soldiers, behold the banner of your country. Before you waves the gift of two fair daughters of Texas. Your lot is fortunate and your distinction proud. First in your hands is placed the Texas flag: let you be the last to see it strike to the invading foe: let no other feeling ever glow in your bosoms, than that expressed in the motto on your banner, "our country's rights or death." He who refuses to surrender, if necessary, his life for its protection, let him be a dastard and a traitor for life, and let him have no habitation among the free. Let us all, with one accord, raise our hands to heaven and swear, "The Texas flag shall wave triumphant, or we will sleep in death."

The flag presented to the San Felipe company, was made according to the pattern proposed for the flag of Texas and of Independence. The following is the device: The English jack, showing the origin of the Anglo-Americans; thirteen stripes, representing that most of the colonists in Texas are from the United States; the star is Texas, the only state in Mexico retaining the least spark of the light of liberty; tri-coloured, is Mexican, showing that we once belonged to that confederacy; the whole flag historic.

The standing committee, appointed by the citizens of this place, in the absence of any authority to act in the present emergency, are deserving the highest commendations for their industry and promptness in procuring arms, ammunition, and provisions for the troops raising in this part of the country. On Sunday the committee was appointed; on Tuesday a wagon, loaded with every thing necessary, was despatched the neighbourhood of the latter place on the 30th of the month.

Let us leave the main army of Freedom at the place of encampment now occupied by it, and where it was destined to remain a little over two weeks, and retrace the road to San Felipe, twenty miles below, on the river. When the Commander-in-Chief departed from this place, on his way to Groce's, he had left nearly two hundred men, under Capt. Baker, and had directed an equal number to Fort Bend, "to annoy the first movement of the enemy, should they attempt to cross at those places, till himself might come down to make an *effectual* resistance;" the Commander-in-Chief "having possession of the steam-boat Yellow Stone," which he had found lying in the river, and having thus "secured to himself the means of transporting, in a few hours, his whole force to any place where the enemy should make his appearance." "On the evening of the 29th (March), some scouts, detached by Captain Baker, came in, saying, they had seen the Mexican advance guard, within a few miles of San Felipe, which place they would probably reach before daylight. This report was the cause of the Town being immediately set on fire and destroyed." It subsequently turned out, that this report of the scouts had originated in error, that they had "mistaken a drove of cattle for a squadron of cavalry; and the Mexican troops did not in

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westward. Another wagon is now fitting out, and will start in a few days with provisions and arms. "Go ye, (every town in Texas,) and do likewise." Wait not for the more tardy commands of legislative bodies. Nothing which the committee have is withheld. Nothing but promptness and the greatest energy will save Texas. A great proportion of the San Felipe company volunteered, and have marched. Maj. A. Somerville remained behind to superintend a draft of two-thirds of all who did not volunteer. Three of our printers were drafted; but the committee, deeming it all-important that the press should keep in operation, recommended Maj. Somerville not to call upon the printers, but to return them, subject to the payment of such sum as the authorities shall hereafter designate."

fact make their appearance near the Town till the 6th of April."*

It will be advantageous, at this point of our narrative,† to

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* As this particular portion of the history of the War is specially barren in official testimonials of any kind, I have deemed it prudent to follow the very words of the *last* number of the San Felipe Telegraph; the accuracy of which, there is no reason to question.

† It was whilst the Texan army was lying at their place of encampment that several individuals who have rendered themselves gloriously conspicuous in the annals of the single-starred Republic, came forward to render their services in this hour of imminent peril. I am sincerely mortified that, in many instances, the appropriate testimonies have not been placed in my hands, so as to enable me to present something like a Biographical portrait of each of these illustrious champions of Freedom. I trust, if this work should be fortunate enough to pass through a second edition, that I shall be able to supply all deficiencies on this head, and, at any rate, that in another work, now partially prepared for the press, called "*Sequel to Texas and the Texans*," I shall be permitted to do ample justice to all who have appeared prominently on the theatre of action in this interesting region, either in a civic or military capacity, up to the *first day of January*, 1841; if it should turn out that the public is really as curious on this subject as I have been led heretofore to anticipate. I now introduce to the notice of the reader General *Mirabeau B. Lamar*, who joined the Army at Groce's, and who was one of the most zealous champions of *active* operations against the enemy. As a devoted personal friend of the martyred Fannin, and a personal acquaintance and fellow-countryman of many of those who perished with him, this was but natural. The intimate relations of friendship which exist between General Lamar and myself, induce me to feel some delicacy about asserting fully his extraordinary merits. There are many things which might be said in illustration of the virtues of President Lamar, in addition to the subjoined sketch, without in the least overstepping the limits of honest commendation; but I forbear the mention of them for the present, designing to do myself the honour ere long, in tracing out the history of his career as the highest political officer of Texas, of presenting him in several interesting points of view in which the writer of the sketch referred to seems not to have contemplated his character. I take what follows from a Texan newspaper of the year 1838; and I will only state that it was written by one of the most noble-spirited and worthy gentlemen in all the South-West.

"One of the most distinguished scholars of Greece somewhere remarks that 'it is the first requisite of greatness for a man to be born in a famous city.' No doubt this opinion was the result of a warm admiration, which the author had for his friend, whose history he was en-glance for an instant along the course of that *Vandalic* inundation from the South, which, breaking over the *Barrier of the San Antonio*, and sweeping through the plains of

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gaged in compiling. And in the ardour of his attachment to Athens, the birth-place of Genius, and the cradle of Liberty, he was betrayed into the expression, that the accident of being born in a famous city imparted additional greatness to one who had been distinguished alike in the councils of his country and her battles.

I am about to introduce to your readers a biographical sketch of a friend, and if a distinguished birth-place can add anything to his well-earned laurels, surely I may be permitted to say of him as Euripides wrote of Alcibiades, that he had the first requisite of greatness, as a famous state gave him birth.

MIRABEAU B. LAMAR, the subject of this sketch, was born in the State of Georgia, in the county of Jefferson, on the 16th day of August, 1798. Of his early life I know little more than that he was educated in all the virtuous principles which have so long adorned his family name, and that he has in no act ever dishonoured its fair fame. His ancestral escutcheon will descend as bright from his hands, as on the day when he first received it, and achieved those honours which gave earnest of his virtuous and exalted career.

The writer of this sketch was first introduced to the notice of General Lamar, five years since, in the state of Georgia, where he occupied a distinguished place in the estimation of the political party to which, in early life, he had attached himself. Of his course from first manhood up to the period of my personal acquaintance, I must speak from the information of those who had known him from his cradle. His introduction into public life was made under the auspices of George M. Troup, then Governor of the State of Georgia, and one of the most virtuous and talented statesmen who was ever placed at the head of public affairs in that State. He was selected by Troup as his private secretary, and although greatly his junior in years, General Lamar was received into the family of the Governor upon terms of the most intimate and confidential friendship. In the hour of difficulty and peril, when the rights of the people he was chosen to guard and maintain, were invaded by officers in the name and under the authority of Federal Warrant (as Mexico attempted to quarter her minions upon the free people of this Republic,) Governor Troup looked to General Lamar as his efficient aid—and he proceeded to raise a military force to defend the liberties of the people of Georgia against unlawful invasion. He was then in the spring season of youth, and displayed upon that occasion the germ of those talents which have since been so useful both in his native and adopted country.

General Lamar has never fallen below the high expectations of his

Texas as an avalanche of blood and fire, had held its desolating and hitherto unchecked career for several hundred miles, and seemed now to threaten, that by something like

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friends, but has maintained the same character up to this hour with which he set out in public life. The military command conferred upon him by Governor Troup was faithfully and diligently discharged. And although his active services were not required upon that occasion, by the peaceful and auspicious termination of the struggle between his native state and the general government, yet sufficient indication of military skill and energy was displayed in the organization and discipline of the troops, placed under his command, to justify the prediction, that he would become distinguished as an officer of great courage and firmness.

Soon after this period, he was invited to enter upon the political arena, by those who had observed and admired his generous daring in defence of the rights of Georgia—and his name was placed, together with other candidates, upon the ticket of his party for a seat in Congress. The political opinions of the several candidates were demanded in writing, and when those who called him out, attempted to dictate his course, he withdrew his name from their nomination, and gave his reasons for the measure in an able and eloquent address, in which he exposed the dictatorial temper and dangerous influence of the Caucus party. This brought upon him, for a time, the displeasure of the party leaders, whose opinions, and not his own, were attempted to be made the guide of his political conduct. So great was his abhorrence ever after for political managers and party dictation, that he refused every solicitation of his friends to have his name again brought before the people as a candidate for popular favour. But this resolution in no wise abated the fervour of his patriotism. Whilst he uniformly but respectfully declined all public honours, he continued to enlighten the people by his written productions, and to [illegible] them by his eloquence to a just sense of their rights as a free people.

The health of General Lamar was, at this period, such as to require continued exercise and the excitement of travel. He made his preparations and set out upon an expedition to this country, collecting on his journey, and in his intercourse with the early emigrants, all the materials for a full and complete history of Texas, from the original settlement to the day of the achievement of her National Independence. Nothing escaped his eye. No incident was left unrecorded. His soul was with Texas, and the many beautiful descriptions of her climate, soil, and productions, which he has furnished from his manuscripts, and in his eloquent speeches—made upon the numerous occasions in which he has been honoured with distinguished hospitality by his countrymen of the United States—furnish the strongest evidences of his zeal and patriotism in behalf of this Republic. After the collection of these a *reversal* of the principles of *moral gravitation*, it would yet advance, *up hill*, as it were, towards the confines of Anglo-Americanism, as defined before the noted period of

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materials, he returned to his native State with renewed health, determined to write the history of Texas. But when he heard that a Mexican foe had invaded the favoured land of his adoption, he laid aside his literary task, buckled on his armour, and came without delay to join the standard of the patriot army. He fell into the ranks as a common soldier, about ten days before the battle of San Jacinto, and fought with so much skill and bravery, in the desperate engagement between the Mexicans and Texan cavalry, on the 20th April, that, on the next morning, he was selected as the colonel of the regiment to which he belonged. His gallant exploits upon that day have been eulogised by many of his countrymen, and he has testified to the world that the principles of Freedom, which he had so nobly vindicated by his spirit-stirring eloquence, he was willing and ready to defend with his life. He had been taught to believe, with the Lacedæmonians, that it became a man to live or die, as virtue and reason might require, and he ventured into the battle-field like the heroes of Thermopylæ—

"Nor life, nor death, he deemed the happier state,
But life that's glorious, or a death that's great."

After the termination of the war, he received the appointment of Attorney General, in the Cabinet of the President, and took a conspicuous part in the discussions, relative to the disposition of General Santa Anna. He was soon called to the War Department, to fill the place of General Rusk, who had entered the army. It was whilst in this station that he delivered his written opinion upon the course of treatment proper for the Mexican Commander, who had violated all the laws of honourable warfare, and who had himself finally become the sport of fortune, having fallen, as a prisoner of war, into the hands of the people whose countrymen he had butchered in cold blood. General Lamar recommended that he should be tried by a court-martial, and condemned or acquitted, according to the laws and usages of civilized nations. This was undoubtedly the true policy, and one which would have reflected most credit upon the country, whilst the injuries of the many gallant men, who had been butchered by a savage foe, under the mantle of civilization, would have been properly and manfully avenged. But Santa Anna was a wily chieftain. He had all the sagacity of a practised statesman, accompanied with a ready and commanding eloquence, which saved the life he had justly forfeited by his inhuman and unrelenting edicts. General Lamar took a firm but dignified stand against him, and continued, through the excitement growing out of the lenity extended to Santa Anna, to urge the adoption of this course, as

1812; when the expedition of Magee first opened the way for the goodly institutions of civil and religious freedom in the region West of the Sabine. As already intimated, the

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the only one which would quiet the people without endangering the character of the country.

Some months after the battle of San Jacinto, when the rumour of another hostile expedition from Mexico reached the army, he was called to the command, and received the appointment of Major-General. From this station he retired as soon as it was ascertained that the report of the approach of the Mexicans was unfounded.

Upon the second election for President and Vice-President, General Lamar was chosen by his fellow-citizens to fill the latter station, and, so far as I have been able to learn, he has discharged the duties of his office faithfully and impartially, and has met all questions with a promptitude and firmness, which have secured him the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens. As the highest testimony which they could pay to his talents, services, and integrity, a number of the most prominent Senators of the Republic, in conjunction with many distinguished citizens, at the close of the last session of Congress, invited him to permit his name to be placed before the people as a candidate for the Presidency. To this invitation, he replied, that he was always ready to serve the people of Texas in any station to which they might think proper to call him, with the best of his skill and ability. His nomination has met the approbation of his countrymen, and was received with great enthusiasm throughout the United States, and more especially in the Southern States, where the deepest interest for Texas pervades the public mind. All the presses teemed with commendations of the many talents and virtues, which adorned the character of one of the most distinguished statesmen of Texas, who entertained feelings in common with the South, and had been reared under her institutions. It is from this portion of the United States, that Texas is to receive the best and most valuable portion of her population, and from the South she must derive her greatest strength.

But it is not as the statesman and soldier, that General Lamar shines most conspicuously. His exalted virtues, his generous devotion, his warm attachments and his unflinching firmness, have endeared him to his personal friends, and these noble qualities of the heart have secured the respect and confidence of his opponents. During the heat of political controversy in Georgia, he made no personal enemies, and those who opposed his opinions, gave him the credit of honesty and sincerity. Upon his return to the United States, his old opponents contended with a laudable zeal, who should be foremost in the manifestation of the proud welcome he received in every city and village through which he passed, whilst the grateful homage of every man was offered to this zealous

Army of Invasion had not entered Texas in an *unbroken mass*, but had passed the San Antonio river in two *grand divisions*; one of which, under the command of Santa Anna

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friend and defender of the rights and liberties of his fellow-men. This was not the incense poured forth to station and power, but the spontaneous burst of admiration and applause to genius and courage, united in vindication of an injured and oppressed people.

General Lamar is a warm-hearted and enthusiastic man, and devoted to his friends. There is no consideration of self—no impulse of ambition—no inducement of interest—no fitfulness of temper, which can induce him to forsake his friends. He is not stern and unrelenting, but gentle and forgiving. He is not gloomy and unsocial, but gay, companionable and confiding. He is neither proud nor vain, but modest and unpretending. It is his simplicity of character, which strangers to his feelings mistake for pride. With commanding talents and an undying enthusiasm, animating, impelling and directing him to the performance of the most generous and daring deeds; he is qualified to give energy and character to a new government. He is a practical man in all the affairs of life, and his political productions exhibit the soundest views and the most enlightened judgment. Some of the best essays upon the government, which appeared in the public press of Georgia, of the United States, emanated from the pen of General Lamar. He is fond of the arts, and has cultivated them with great attention, but not at the expense of his knowledge and usefulness as a statesman.

A remarkable instance of his chivalry of character, occurred on the day preceding the battle of San Jacinto. As he saw General Rusk, a gallant soldier and an accomplished gentleman, surrounded by the Mexicans, when all others had deserted him, he went boldly forward to his rescue. He, too, might have followed their example, and no imputation would have rested upon his name. But no such ungenerous feeling influenced his conduct. He saw his fellow-soldier surrounded by a barbarous and vindictive foe, and he rushed forward, regardless of his own life, to save his friend and companion in arms. He soon cleared the field of those who surrounded General Rusk, and received himself a wound in the knee, which maimed him for several months. These facts were related to me by a gentleman in the army of Texas, who is an intimate friend of General Rusk, and he received the circumstances from that gentleman himself.

General Lamar being a candidate for the Presidency, I feel that I should perform an acceptable task to the people in pointing out his peculiar fitness for the office. The first requisite of a candidate for distinguished station is, that he should have a just and exalted conception of the duties he has to discharge. If this moral sense be lacking, although he may have understanding, he cannot have weight,—he may in person, after ravaging San Antonio de Bexar, had marched, almost on a straight line, towards the Colorado river, had now crossed it, and moving over the intermediate space, had *debouched* upon San Felipe de Austin, on the Brassos river; whilst the other, and Southern division, under the direction of several subordinate officers, had fallen on Fannin and his immortal band near Goliad, ninety miles below Bexar, and, pursuing a somewhat more circuitous course along the windings of the Gulf shore, had *debouched* simultaneously upon a point of the Brassos river, ninety miles below San Felipe de Austin. So that the two divisions of the barbarian host were, on their arrival in the heart of Texas, about as far separated from each other, as they had been in crossing the border, and had been, several times, on the parallel lines of carnage and ruin which they had marked with their footsteps, still more remote. Had Sez-

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have genius, but he cannot have influence. General Lamar possesses this qualification in an eminent degree. The head of a government should have independence to pursue his own counsels, when he has well considered them. No man possesses a firmer temper than General Lamar. He will not tolerate a prompter at his elbow to direct and control his counsels. He is above dictation and free from control. He is as independent as the air he breathes, sweeping onward with the same mildness, but with steadiness and vigour. His great reliance ever has been upon the support of the people, in whose hearts spring those high and generous impulses, which belong to the humblest citizen, and are not the exclusive privileges of any.

The moral influence of the statesman reaches beyond the man, and links itself with the destinies of the people he may govern. The President thus becomes the soul and centre of the Republic, and his administration will prove a curse or a benefit—a disgrace or an honour, as his policy may stamp the one or the other character upon its institutions. The safety of nations consists in the principles of good government and not in the occasional flashings of a brilliant intellect. Our great men are the fairest and most lasting pyramids of human glory—the safest and most honourable records of national fame. They are the rallying points in time of peace—they are our polar stars in the hour of peril. The writer of this article has every confidence that General Lamar will become one of the most distinguished ornaments of *his* country, and that he will impress his virtuous character and liberal principles upon the government of Texas, over which he may be called to preside."

ma and his 800 men been stricken at the Colorado, Santa Anna would have been next to encounter; and lastly the most numerous but least disciplined section of the grand army, scattered parties of which, about the 10th of March, were occupying different points between Brassoria and the mouth of the Brassos river. At this moment, as has been said, the Texan army was at Groce's, on the bank of the same river, having possession of a spacious steamboat, sufficient, repeating the language of the Telegraph, to enable the Commander-in-chief to "transport, in a few hours, his whole force, to any place where the enemy should make his appearance." The question that now arises, is for the decision of men of military experience, to which I do not pretend. Should the Texan General-in-chief have thrown his troops upon this same steamboat, have attempted to take the enemy by surprise at San Felipe, and then dashing down the river with the double impetus of steam and a rapid current, have fallen upon the scattered and marauding bands below, and, to use the language of a distinguished Texan, "have swept them from the soil indignant, with a Hurricane of Death?"

I have said that I should not give my opinion on this point, and it certainly would be worth but little, were I to declare it. But a decent regard for historic verity constrains me to state, that the almost unanimous opinion and earnest desire of the Texan army, both officers and men, were, that not an instant should be lost in attacking the foe. And so impatient did the mass of the soldiery become, that a *mutiny* was very near breaking out in camp, and various meetings were openly held, whose object was to bring about a *deposition* of the Commander-in-Chief for *inaction*. I shall neither express myself in the language of blame or commendation, in regard to these movements in camp; but am content to publish the *undeniable* fact, and leave it for others to pronounce judgment of approbation or censure. It is certain, that General Houston was decidedly and unchangeably averse to a course of proceeding which he deemed the very height of rashness; and so declared himself, at the time, with a freedom which did much credit to his character for soldierly frankness. He felt undoubtingly satisfied, and so announced to all who conferred with him, that the only hope of saving the country lay in *retreating towards the Sabine*, and getting up an army of some *five thousand* bold Anglo-Americans, who would prosecute the war, if necessary, to the walls of Mexico. Nothing is more unquestionable, than that he had no idea of abandoning the cause of Freedom and Independence entirely; but he wished to proceed in the work of defence under more auspicious signs than seemed then apparent. The *motives* which directed his conduct, whatever may be thought by others, I must consider to have been altogether worthy. He differed *honestly* with his brethren in arms, and felt, of course, inclined to act upon his own judgment. It was regularly announced to him though, through his Aid-de-Camp, Major John A. Wharton, Col. Benjamin F. Smith, and others, that his soldiers would not leave the central region of Texas to go *North*, on any consideration whatever; and General Rusk, then Secretary of War, who had been for some days in camp, urged, as a plan of *compromise* in which all might be induced to acquiesce, that the Army of Freedom should forthwith take up the line of march for the vicinage of Harrisburg, where the Government was now established; and upon this ground, the parties finally met and harmonized. So, on the 16th of April, the army of Texas advanced from the bank of the Brassos river, towards Harrisburg, and reached the Buffalo Bayou, opposite that place, on the 18th of the same month.

When General Rusk had urged this advance towards the Buffalo Bayou, his mind had become satisfied, from several circumstances, that this movement would necessarily throw the Texan army in conflict with Santa Anna's forces, somewhere in that neighbourhood. And such had been the conjecture and ardent hope of many a gallant officer and soldier in that high-souled band of fearless warriors, who had now sighed so anxiously for weeks to be allowed to do vengeance on the enemy. This expectation was not disappointed; for, on the evening that the Texan army had arrived opposite Harrisburg, as stated, a courier of the enemy was intercepted, by the vigilance of that ever-active scout, *Deaf Smith*,[*] from whom information was obtained that [†] "Santa Anna, with one division of his choice troops, had marched in the direction of Lynche's ferry, on the San Jacinto, burning Harrisburg as he passed down." Upon learning that the enemy was so near them, the army of Freedom became clamorous to be led against them without delay; and the Commander-in-Chief, though he still deemed it grossly impolitic thus to put the hopes of the country to hazard in a single battle, which must be evidently fought under the most serious disadvantages, yielded gracefully to what he now found to be the general wish of his brave soldiers, and issued the necessary orders for crossing the Bayou, and going in pursuit of the adverse army. [‡] "The main body of the Texan forces effected a crossing over the Bayou, below Harrisburg, on the morning of the 19th of April, having left the baggage, the sick, and a sufficient camp guard in the rear. They continued the march throughout the night, making but one halt in the prairie, for a short time, and without refreshment. At daylight, the line of march was resumed, and, in a short distance, the scouts of the Texan army encountered those of the enemy, and information was obtained that General Santa Anna was at New Washington, and would that day take up the line of march for Anahuac, crossing at Lynche's ferry." The Texan infantry halted within half a mile of the ferry, in a fine body of timber. The mounted men of the army had pushed on towards New Washington; but ere they had reached that place, they came in sight of the Mexican army, which was seen advancing from Clopper's Point, where it had been last encamped, and moving nearly in the direction of the Texan infantry. The mounted men, unseen of the enemy, dashed back rapidly to announce to their fellow-soldiers the near approach of Santa Anna's forces, and thus enabled the Commander-in-Chief to put his army in readiness for the battle which seemed now inevitable.

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[*] I hope some day to be able to trace up minutely the history of this very extraordinary person, whose services to Texas were so invaluable at this period. At present, I am only prepared to mention, in addition to what has been said of him in the text, that his true name was *Erastus* Smith; his ordinary appellation being derived from the circumstance of his almost total deafness; a deficiency which seems to have imparted ten-fold keenness to his other senses. His boldness, activity, and adroitness, as a spy, were never surpassed. Mr. Smith was, a few years since, a citizen of Mississippi, and resided where the town of Grand Gulf now stands.

[†] These are the identical words used by the Commander-in-Chief in his subsequent report to the government.

[‡] I cite here the language of General Houston's report to the government.

There is the best reason for believing, that Santa Anna was yet unapprized of the proximity of the Texan troops, for his army was coming up in a leisurely and irregular manner, evidently unaware that the clump of timber, about a quarter or half a mile distant, concealed a body of warriors ready to strike the last blow for Liberty and Independence. Unfortunately, the two pieces of Artillery belonging to the Texan army were fired at this instant of time, and thus prevented the Commander-in-Chief from reaping all the advantages of a complete *surprise*. The Mexican army now halted, for a moment then quickly took position in an adjoining * "island of timber;" the infantry and artillery being thrown into the centre, whilst the cavalry were stationed on the left flank. The Artillery of the foe, consisting only of "one double fortified medium brass twelve-pounder," then opened on the Texans. "The infantry in column advanced, with the design of charging on the Texan lines, but were repulsed with a discharge of grape and canister from the Artillery" of the Army of Freedom, "consisting of two six-pounders. The enemy had occupied a piece of timber within rifle-shot of the left wing of the Texan army* from which an occasional

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* I will here mention, once for all, that where the inverted commas are employed in this account of what occurred at San Jacinto, I must be understood as quoting from the official report of General Houston to the government.

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* The distressing want of artillery experienced in the Texan army, ever since the Commander-in-Chief had felt it to be necessary to cast the cannon at Gonzales into the river, had been just supplied by the liberality of the citizens of Cincinnati. The letter of President Burnet, acknowledging the receipt of the "Twin Sisters of Cincinnati," will be read with interest. It was as follows:

"Executive Department, Republic of Texas, Velasco, July 13, 1836.

To Daniel M. Drake, M. D., Wm. Corry, Esq., Pulaski Smith, Robert Lytle, Esq., et al.

Gentlemen,—Two beautiful "pieces of Hollow Ware" lately presented to us, through your agency, by the citizens of Cincinnati, as a free-will offering to the cause of human liberty, were received very opportunely, and have become *precious* in our struggle for freedom. Their first effective operations were on the memorable field of San Jacinto, where they contributed greatly to the achievement of a victory not often paralleled in the annals of war. I doubt not their voices will again be heard, and their power be felt, in the great and interesting cause to which they were dedicated by your liberality, and in the advancement of which we are so arduously engaged.

To you, gentlemen, and to the the citizens of Cincinnati who have manifested so generous a sympathy in our cause, I beg leave to tender the warmest thanks of a people who are contending for their liberties and their lives against a numerous nation of *semi-savages*, whose cruelty is equalled only by their want of spirit and military prowess.

Should our enemy have the temerity to renew his attempt to subjugate our delightful country, the voices of the "*Twin Sisters of Cincinnati*," will send their reverberations beyond the Rio Grande, and carry unusual terror into many a Mexican hamlet. Texas has no desire to extend her conquests beyond her own natural and appropriate limits; but if the war must be prosecuted against us, after abundant evidence has been exhibited to the enemy and the world, of its *futility*, other lands than our own must sustain a portion of its ravages. Permit me, interchange of small arms took place between the troops, until the enemy withdrew to a position on the banks of the San Jacinto, about three quarters of a mile from the" Texan encampment.

And now, the two armies being almost in contact, *conflict* or *retreat*, upon the one side or the other, seemed inevitable. The soldiers of the army of Freedom, almost to a man, were solicitous to engage the foe. The Commander-in-Chief, whilst he could not but feel a proper respect for the valorous zeal of this band of heroes, was not by any means satisfied that it was sufficiently "guided by wisdom," to "*act in safety!*" His mind had not given up the opinion, that a retreat to the Sabine would be the wisest policy, and he clearly and decidedly pronounced that it would be utter madness to go into battle against a body of disciplined soldiers, already superior to the Texans whom he commanded, in point of numbers, and hourly expecting large reinforcements. Perhaps the result of the next day's conflict could alone have taken away from these views, the *plausibility* which then seemed to invest them. General Houston yet earnestly insisted on retreat; but the unanimous voice of the soldiery prevented any very serious attempt to execute such a movement.

Thus matters stood during the morning of the 20th of March; which was industriously occupied by the Texan soldiers in clearing away the undergrowth and rubbish of every kind, from the ground on which they were encamped; hoping, as well as expecting, that Santa Anna would be bold enough to attack them during the day, and being fully assured of victory in case he should do so. But Santa Anna had not the remotest idea of stirring out of his trenches at present. The *antepast* of Anglo-American

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gentlemen, to tender to you, and to your fellow-citizens, who have rendered Texas such efficient aid, assurances of my profound esteem.

Your obedient servant,

David G. Burnet."

valour, with which the famed Hero of Tampico had been recently favoured at Bexar, and in the vicinage of Goliad, had singularly bedulled his appetite for anything like *regular* warfare with such a body of robust and daring warriors as had now thrown themselves in front of him; and he decidedly preferred awaiting the coming up of the reinforcements, which he knew must reach him, under Cos, next morning, before he ventured to meddle with them seriously. And if, on the arrival of Cos, he should not find the stars sufficiently propitious to him (he remembered), he had a large swarm of barbarians in the neighbourhood of the Brassos river whom he could conveniently call around him; when he would be able to number *thousands* to the *hundreds* who now composed the *last army*, as he believed, that Texas would ever be able to raise. He was, therefore, entirely disposed to lie quiet, and suffer his ranks to be swelled to a sufficient size, to authorize a hope of repeating here those scenes of *universal massacre* which had been lately perpetrated in the West, without any great hazard, of any kind, being encountered either by himself or his army. Now, the Texan soldiers were as fully apprised that Santa Anna would receive reinforcements next day, as he was himself,—and were aware of the vast multitude whom he had left in the rear, and who would probably reach his quarters in a day or two. They had no earthly hope of growing any stronger themselves immediately, and certainly could not do so, until the battle was over that they had resolved to fight in this vicinage. There was hardly a man among them who did not feel that the moment to strike the Despot had arrived, if he was ever to be resisted at all; and that if the present auspicious opportunity were neglected, none so desirable could be expected again to arise. They were nearly equal, even in numbers, to the fragment of Santa Anna's army now in sight of them; they had *two* pieces of cannon, whilst the enemy had but *one*; and they could not doubt that a triumph almost blood-less, so far as they were concerned, might now be snatched from the hated Tyrant and his butcherly associates. The *inaction* of the day had well-nigh tortured them to madness; and each man felt almost inclined to throw himself single-handed on the foe and pour out upon this atrocious band of malefactors, the vials of long-delayed vengeance.

Under such circumstances, just as the evening was expiring, a movement was concerted, by a valiant son of Kentucky, in which the heroic Scott or Shelby, of the olden time, would have been proud to participate. Col. Sherman, about four o'clock P. M. on the 20th of April, proposed to the Commander-in-Chief that he should give him authority, at the head of as many mounted volunteers as he could raise, to attempt a *charge upon the enemy's cannon*, claiming, in case it should be eventually necessary, that his fellow-soldiers, whom he would leave behind him, should *second* him in the undertaking. The Commander-in-Chief was not inclined to sanction this project, in the first instance, alleging that it would be attended with great and unnecessary hazard. But Col. Sherman insisting earnestly upon receiving license to proceed, and other counsels being likewise interposed, the consent of General Houston was at length won, and the noble Sherman proceeded, without delay, *Milam-like*, to beat up for volunteers, to run with him this desperate gauntlet of extremity. Mentioning Milam, induces me here to remark, that it is somewhat of a *coincidence*, that almost the first efforts of Sherman to obtain comrades in this daring enterprise, were addressed to the very officer to whom Milam had made his remarkable appeal in sight of the Alamo—the high-souled Burleson; and now, as formerly, Colonel Burleson displayed that ready alacrity and freedom from all feelings of petty *rivalship*, which are so apt to fester in mean and vulgar bosoms. Col. Sherman shall speak himself to this point: "I immediately applied to Col. Burleson, for permission to call on his regiment for volunteers, to mount for the purpose; the cavalry offering to give up their horses to those who would volunteer. The Colonel remarked that I might take all that would volunteer, if I wanted them, and that he would parade the balance of his regiment, and march out to sustain us, if necessary." Colonel Sherman soon succeeded in procuring sixty-eight high-mettled cavaliers to participate in this hazardous exploit; but ere he set out, he had used the precaution to arrange positively with the Commander-in-Chief for *support*, in case it should become needful. This was done, through the instrumentality of Col. Hockley, Aid-de-camp to General Houston, as Col. Sherman states, to whose kind offices he had been indebted for removing the objections of that Commander to the project in the first instance. "Col. Hockley came and informed me," says Col. Sherman, "that General Houston would order out Lieutenant-Colonel Millard, with his command, to sustain me, if necessary." But Col. Sherman, being quite as *circumspect*, as on this occasion he was about to prove himself fearless, was particular enough to make, as he thought, all *safe* behind him, by riding to the officers in charge of the Texan infantry and artillery, and putting them completely on the *qui vive* as to his intended movement. Thus he speaks on this point: "Before I left the camp, I rode up to Captain Poe,[*] and requested him to keep up his fire on the enemy's cannon, until I should approach so near it, as no longer to allow him to fire with safety; and I in-

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[*] I feel persuaded, that my good friends in Texas will not require at my hands special notice of each of the nearly half a hundred statements descriptive of this affair, which have been placed in my custody; all being nearly the same in substance with that of Major Wills, which has been inserted in the text. Perhaps it will be as well to introduce one or two extracts here, before the subject is dismissed for ever, in confirmation of the above. I hold a note, addressed by Captain Poe, Commander of the Artillery on this occasion, to Col. Sherman, in which the following sentence occurs: "I distinctly recollect, that you told me you intended to *take the Artillery from the enemy*, and wished me to open a fire from my guns to second your attempt; which I did." The following is an extract from a report made by Lieutenant-Colonel S. L. Bennet, on the subject of this celebrated assault: "Our cavalry were paraded, under the special command of Col. Sherman, and

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marched to the attack. The regulars were also paraded under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Millard, for the purpose of sustaining Col. Sherman, in case of necessity, and marched out into a ravine, to wait until he commenced the attack. The cavalry did commence the attack, and sustained themselves for some time against the enemy's cavalry, and about two hundred of their infantry. Col. Sherman disappointed about being assisted by Col. Millard, and, after a severe charge, drew off his men from the unequal contest with very little injury, only two men being severely wounded, and several horses killed. Great credit is due to Col. Sherman for the manner in which he drew off his few cavalry, amounting to about sixty-eight men." It would be exceedingly easy to multiply proofs, in illustration of the true character of this transaction; but it is deemed unnecessary. It is almost absolutely certain that no one will ever have the temerity, over his own signature, to deny any portion of the text; if such an instance should arise, I shall not fail to spread such a mass of documents before the public, that the *Denier*, whoever he may chance to be, will be as much astonished as Lord Byron represents (perhaps rather profanely,) the Arch-angel Michael to have been, in the grand Judgment scene, when upon a "call for witnesses," to settle the merits of poor George the Third, that huge "cloud" of *Testifiers* was seen to come forward, whose *myriads darkened space*, and are described as forcing the good Arch-angel,

First to grow pale,
As angels can: next like Italian twilight,
Turning all colours, as a peacock's tail,
Or sunset streaming through a gothic skylight,
In some old abbey, or a trout not stale,
Or distant lightning on the horizon *by* night,
Or a fresh rainbow, or a grand review,
Of thirty regiments in red, green, and blue;

And in such a case, I, the poor historian, might perchance be addressed, under some mistake as to my true *attitude* and *attributes*, thus: "Why,

My good friend, for such I deem you, though
Our different parties make us fight so shy,
I ne'er mistook you for a *personal* foe;
Our difference is *political*; and I
Trust that, whatever may occur *below*,
You know my great respect for you: and this
Makes me regret whate'er you do amiss—
Why, my dear fellow, would you abuse
My call for witnesses?—I did not mean
That you should half of earth and hell produce!
'Tis even superfluous, since *two* honest, clean,
True testimonies are enough; we lose
Our time, nay, our eternity, between
The accusation and defence; if we
Hear both, 'twill stretch our immortality.

formed Col. Millard of the infantry, that I was then ready to move to the attack, and got him to form his command, and march them to a ravine, until the assault should actually be made." All the world will at once perceive, that this plan of operation, had it been carried out, as it was very near being, would of necessity have brought on a *general battle* with the enemy; and there are few who will not understand it as a bold and well-conceived *ruse* to delude the Commander-in-Chief into a conflict, in spite of the monitions of his cooler judgment. And,

> "Now, Esperance! Percy! and *Set on!*—
> Sound all the lofty instruments of war,
> And by that music let us all embrace;
> For heaven to earth, some of us never shall
> A second time, do such a courtesy."

I choose to relate what now followed, in the language of Major Wills, one of the officers who commanded in this fierce onset. He thus speaks: "The field-piece of the enemy, stationed in the grove, on our right front, still kept up its fire upon us, and being protected only by their cavalry, Colonel Sherman made the bold proposal to take it with his mounted men. On calling for volunteers, he succeeded in getting sixty-eight. Before we were mounted, the cannon of the enemy was withdrawn over the hill, and was out of sight. As we paraded, Colonel Millard's command was ordered out to sustain us against the enemy's infantry. We struck off, at a brisk trot, and soon discovered the Mexican mounted men, sitting quietly on their horses, near a thick wood, and about half a mile from our position. When within a short distance, Colonel Sherman divided his little band into three squads, the right commanded by Captain Carnes, the centre by Smith, and the left by Wills. The *charge* was given, and we rushed on. ***Whiz!*** came a shower of grape from their confounded piece of artillery, which they had stationed at the edge of the timber, to the right of their cavalry. At the same time, four companies of infantry came filing out from near the cannon, apparently with the design of cutting off our retreat. This did not stop us; we drove their cavalry nearly back to their cannon; when their trumpet sounded *no quarter!* we were, in turn, forced back a short distance; but were soon rallied by our gallant Colonel, and again returned to the charge, with the like success. But, finding ourselves exposed to the incessant fire of an unequal number of cavalry, their artillery, and two hundred infantry, and *our own infantry not having come up* to engage theirs, as expected, we were at length obliged, reluctantly, to retire, leaving two fine horses dead upon the field. We were lucky enough to escape the *hornets' nest* with only two men badly wounded. Two days after, I was informed, by a Mexican soldier, that Santa Anna, in person, commanded the field-piece throughout the skirmish. One of Fannin's men, who had been led out to be shot, but made his escape, was on the right of the division, and behaved most gallantly."

All will acknowledge this to be one of the most singular transactions that has ever marked the grim annals of war; and I candidly confess myself at great loss to understand it in all its bearings; still less am I qualified to unfold it. Colonel Sherman, and all associated * with him in this charge upon the enemy, and hundreds of others, assert, that they confidently expected to be seconded by the infantry and artillery; and yet it is absolutely certain, and I speak upon the information of his own Aid-de-camp, and personal friend, Colonel Hockley, when I declare, that it was by the *express command* of the General-in-chief, that the infantry under Colonel Millard were withheld from advancing to the rescue, when Sherman and his valiant sixty-eight were assaulted by the enemy's cavalry, two hundred of their infantry, and their artillery to boot. At this moment, the Texan Commander-in-Chief exclaimed to his Aid-de-camp, "What are they about? I ordered a *Reconnoitre* only; call off the infantry;" and the Aid-de-camp, however the execution of such an order, under the circumstances, must have grated on his sensibilities, advanced rapidly to call Col. Millard back into line. It would be very harsh to say, that the Commander-in-Chief did not sympathize with his gallant fellow-soldiers whilst thus almost surrounded by the foe, and in imminent danger of being overpowered; and such, indeed, is far from my conclusion. But that the order to call off the infantry *was* given and executed, is as certain as that the sun illuminates the firmament. I presume the truth of the whole matter may be, that the Commander-in-Chief now perceived, what at first he had not apprehended, that a *general battle* would be unavoidable, if the Texan infantry advanced on the infantry of the enemy, as they were about to do; and to this he was invincibly opposed, upon grounds already stated. He acted, therefore, at this instant, in perfect consistency with his constant declarations in regard to the inexpediency of entering into an engagement with Santa Anna's forces. I have mentioned, that the Commander-in-Chief exclaimed to Colonel Hockley that he had ordered a *reconnoitre* only; and he is fairly entitled to be heard himself, as to this in-

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* Among these *associates*, are many of the choicest spirits to be found "in this dim spot, which we call earth," including the distinguished individual now occupying the station of President of Texas, General M. B. Lamar. Major George Sutherland, a gentleman known familiarly in Tennessee, Alabama, and several other States, and lately a respectable member of the Texan Congress, revered everywhere for his lofty virtues, and whose word there is not a man living who would be so indiscreet as to call in question, was likewise with Colonel Sherman. In a letter, addressed by Major Sutherland to myself, in the summer of 1839, he says:—"After we had mounted, I asked Colonel Sherman if we were to be backed by the infantry? He answered, 'I expect so;' but he turned round to General Houston, and said,

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'General, are we to be supported by the infantry?' Houston replied, 'Certainly, Sir; do you think I would send you there to be killed?' Major Sutherland was one of those whose horse was killed under him in this extraordinary charge.

teresting matter. In his report to President Burnet, of the affair of the 20th of April, he says: "A short time before sunset, our mounted men, about eighty-five in number, under the special command of Colonel Sherman, marched out for the purpose of *reconnoitring* the enemy. Whilst advancing, they received a volley from the left of the enemy's infantry, and after a sharp rencontre with their cavalry, in which ours acted extremely well, and performing some feats of daring chivalry, they retired in good order, having had two men severely wounded, and several horses killed. In the mean time, the infantry, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Millard, and Colonel Burleson's regiment, had marched out for the purpose of covering the retreat of the cavalry, if necessary. All then fell back, in good order, to our camp, about sunset," &c. I leave it for men profoundly versed in the *art militant*, to decide whether this is altogether a technical description of what is called a *reconnoitre*; having "never set a squadron in the field," and being but little versed in what Iago calls "the bookish theoric," I am not prepared to say how far preparations to cover a retreat of a party sent to make a hostile assault upon the enemy's line are compatible with a simple *observation* of his movements and attitude. But in justice to a meritorious officer, impliedly, at least, charged with transcending orders, I feel bound to permit Colonel Sherman thus to speak in vindication of himself: "*Not the first word* ever passed between General Houston and myself, respecting *reconnoitring* the enemy; and I did not know that such a thing was even thought of, either by the General or any other person, till I returned to the camp."

I shall not enlarge on this melancholy, this worse than tragical topic. My humble powers of description recoil from all effort to depicture the mingled resentment and chagrin apparent in the camp of the Texan army, on the return of these sixty-eight volunteers to the commune of their fellow-soldiers. I decline all repetition here of the language of fierce indignation which then broke forth from the lips of men whom the world delights to honour. The night, perhaps the *last night of Texan Liberty and Independence*, was closing gloomily about these eight hundred Spartans. It had been settled, by the event of the evening, that the enemy was not to be attacked until the accursed Cos should bring up his five hundred barbarians, to increase the present numerical superiority of Santa Anna. A favourable opportunity of assailing and crushing the Monster had been declined, and declined under circumstances altogether *peculiar*. Who could hope, amidst so much to awaken despair? Who could be composed whilst such irresistible provocatives to wrath were at work? A thousand rumours, all replete with horror, glided through the camp as Spectres of Evil. Ejaculations of half-stifled rage and menace were heard in various quarters. Copious *memoranda* lie before me, from which it would be easy to extract statements that would freeze the blood of sensitive men, and make the hair of the tremulous to stand on end. Dark and dismal interchanges of sentiment and solemn *resolves*, could be here recorded, from a perusal of which the dwellers amidst scenes of social repose would start back with affright. But I forbear. *I draw the curtain of oblivion over all that transpired in the camp of Freedom*, until the hour had nearly arrived fixed on for attacking the foe..

Cos had reinforced Santa Anna, as apprehended. The Dictator had now more than fifteen hundred soldiers around him. The Texans could only muster seven hundred and eighty three. It was not positively known in the Texan camp that Cos had arrived; and, at any rate, additional reinforcements were yet to be apprehended. There was a bridge which afforded the only means of passing a creek between the Brassos river and the camp of Santa Anna. Deaf Smith proposed that authority should be given him to destroy this bridge. Such an application could not be refused. The bridge was demolished by Smith, Carnes, Lapham, and another. By this time, the battle was raging. The army of Freedom was thus arranged: *"The first regiment, commanded by Col. Burleson, was in the centre The second regiment, under the command of Col. Sherman, formed the left wing of the army. The artillery, under the special command of Col. George W. Hockley, inspector-general, was placed on the right of the first regiment; and four companies of infantry, under the command of Lieutenant Col. Millard, sustained the artillery on the right. The Texan cavalry, sixty one in number, commanded by Col. Mirabeau B. Lamar, (whose gallant and daring conduct on the previous day had attracted the admiration of his comrades, and called him to that station) placed on the extreme right, completed the Texan line."

It would be altogether a mistake to suppose that more than a minute or two were occupied by the soldiers of Freedom, in taking their appropriate stations in the field. This was all perfectly understood among them beforehand. It would be equally an error to regard the contest which now occurred as any thing like an ordinary battle. It was in fact rather a *universal assault upon the enemy's line,*—the magnificent acting out of the plan of attack of the day before. Col. Sherman again commenced the fight; his brave soldiers were seen running towards the foe, and were heard thundering forth the dreadful war-cry "*Remember the Alamo! Alamo!*" The same sound was instantly heard along the whole Texan line; and every man was in rapid motion towards the barbarian breast-work. There was not much need of Generals, Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, or Ensigns, just at this instant of time. All had but one object, one spirit, one duty; each man rushed forward as rapidly as possible, to wreak long-suspended vengeance upon the assassins of Liberty, the inhuman murderers of their friends, relatives, and countrymen. Every private had become an officer now:—every officer a daring and deed-performing soldier. "Each armed hand" seemed to represent the vigour of a whole company of ordinary men,

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* I here quote nearly the words of the official report to the government.

> "Led in fight, yet leader seemed
> Each warrior, single as in chief, expert
> When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
> Of battle, open when, and when to close
> The ridges of grim war; no thought of flight,
> None of *retreat;* no unbecoming deed,
> That argued fear; each on himself relied,
> As in his only arm, the moment lay
> Of *Victory!*"

The Texan soldiers on the right and left wings succeeded in forcing the enemy to give ground first; the Barbarian centre remained unbroken a little longer only; in eighteen minutes their whole line yielded to the fury of the Texan assault; and Mexican officers and men were seen flying in every direction, some on horseback, some on foot, some towards the bridge which had been broken down, some towards the adjoining lake, into which they precipitated themselves headlong, and were there either slain or drowned. Such a scene as was now proceeding defies all description. The fugitives who fled on foot were closely chased by the Texan infantry, and killed by scores, as they ran before them with all the speed which terror could impart to their dastard limbs. The Texan Cavalry, who had charged and routed that of the enemy, had dashed after them as they galloped towards the place where the bridge over the creek had lately stood. What was the dismay of the barbarian horsemen when they saw that it had been broken down! Some of them leaped to the ground, threw themselves into the creek, and attempted to gain the opposite shore. Some again, seeing the Texan Cavalry just behind them, spurred their horses down the precipitous bank, and struggled thus to get out of reach of the destroyers. But the efforts of the greater part of them were vain; the slaughter here was prodigious; the waters of the creek are said literally to have been reddened with Mexican blood; and to have been reddened still more deeply with the floating garments of the slain.

The pursuit was kept up, with unabated eagerness, until a late hour in the evening, when it was terminated by an order from the Commander-in-Chief, who announced that "enough glory had been won for a single day." This officer had been wounded by a ball in the beginning of the battle, and had been conducted to his tent, in order to have the proper remedies applied.

The result of the conflict was now ascertained. Two of the Texans had been slain; twenty-three of their number had been wounded; but only six mortally. Of the Mexicans 630 had been killed; among whom was one General officer, four colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, five Captains, and twelve Lieutenants. Two hundred and eight of their number had been wounded. Of prisoners there were 730; among whom there were four Colonels, aids to Santa Anna, and other officers. Six hundred muskets, three hundred sabres, and two hundred pistols, several hundred mules and horses, and near twelve thousand dollars in specie, fell into the hands of the Conquerors. General Cos was captured the day after the battle, and Santa Anna himself in 24 hours after; and both these august personages were duly paraded into the Texan camp.

Before further proceedings are detailed, I give place here to several anecdotes connected with the battle, most of which have been supplied by the kindness of General Rusk, who, though Secretary of War, was in this famous battle, and fought like a lion from the beginning to the end of it.

"During the battle of San Jacinto," says General Rusk, "when the first Regiment and the Regulars had advanced within about one hundred yards of the breast-work of the enemy, a charge was made by a division of the Mexicans, under the command of Colonel Cespedes, (I think,) on our Artillery, which was, at this time, a little in advance. The

Mexican cannon, which had been previously directed towards our Cavalry, was now ordered to make way for the charging party upon our Artillery, and was pointed in the direction of the first Regiment. An attempt was made to fire it, but the man who held the match was shot down by one of our soldiers. The first Regiment, at that instant, with the most deafening yell I ever heard, charged upon the breast-work. Our cannon fired at the same moment, and the Mexicans at the breast-work and cannon, as well as their charging party, commenced an immediate and disorderly flight. General *Castrillion*, who was commanding the Mexican Artillery, was standing on the ammunition boxes, behind the piece, exposed from head to foot. He used every effort to keep his men to the gun; when he found that to be impossible, he folded up his arms, stood and looked sullenly, and without moving, upon our troops, who were advancing upon him, until they arrived at or near the breast-work. He was fifty yards in the rear of his retreating men; when he turned round deliberately, and walked slowly off. He had proceeded some thirty or forty steps, when he was shot, and fell. I examined him, after the battle, and found that several rifle-balls had passed directly through his body. Castrillion was a *Gauchepin*, or European Spaniard; was said to be quite a gentlemanly, honourable man, and was a General of Artillery.

"At the close of the fight," continues General Rusk, "and just after sun-down, Colonel Almonte came out of the woods, and surrendered, with about two hundred and fifty men. There were, at that place, not exceeding ten or fifteen Americans; and none of them could speak the Mexican language well. The prisoners were standing in a body, and they were asked, in the Spanish language, if any of them could speak English. Almonte answered, in Spanish, that they could not. They were then told, in Spanish, to form, two and two deep, and march with us to camp. They formed, and commenced marching accordingly. Our few men were distributed around them, as a guard. Most of us were very much fatigued, and such was the condition of the Mexicans also. As we proceeded along in this way, one of our men, who was so much tired that he could scarcely walk, being incommoded by a Mexican who was walking immediately before him, and who had dropped out of the line of the prisoners, observed to the intruder, in *English*, 'God d—n you, if you don't get back into line, I'll * * * * * with my bayonet.' This conversation occurred near Almonte, who immediately told the prisoner who had been thus addressed, what had been said to him. I concluded that he, at least, must understand English very well, and that it was probably Almonte whom I saw before me. I, therefore, observed to him, 'You must be Colonel Almonte.' He replied in English, 'You speak well.' I then rode up to him, and gave him my hand, saying to him, 'It affords me great pleasure to see you, Colonel.' With great presence of mind, and with his customary politeness, he responded, 'The pleasure is *reciprocal*.'"

"During the fight, a Mexican officer found himself almost at the very muzzle of a rifle in the hands of one of our men. He begged for mercy, and happened at that moment to see a Mexican who was in our ranks, whose name was *Manchaca*, whom he had known for many years, at Bexar. He bellowed out to Manchaca, calling him a *brother Mexican*, and invoked him to save his life. Manchaca replied, 'No, *d—n* you, I'm no Mexican, — I'm an *American*. — Shoot him;' and the soldier fired and killed him.

"Whilst the battle was in progress, the celebrated Deaf Smith, although on horseback, was with the infantry. When they got pretty near the enemy, Smith galloped on ahead, and dashed directly up to the Mexican line. Just as he reached it, his horse stumbled and fell, throwing him over his head among the enemy. Having dropped his sword in the fall, he jumped up, drew one of his belt pistols, presented it at the head of a Mexican, who was attempting to bayonet him, and the percussion-cap exploded without the pistol's going off. Upon which, Smith threw the pistol at the head of the Mexican, staggered him back, seized his gun, took it from him, and defended himself with it, until the infantry got up to his relief.

"A young man, by the name of Robbins, during the fight, dropped his gun, and, happening to run directly in contact with a Mexican soldier, who had also lost his gun, the Mexican seized Robbins, and, both being stout men, soon fell to the ground. Robbins managed, whilst contending on the earth, to get out a Bowie-knife, which he had in his belt, and quickly ended the contest, by cutting the Mexican's throat.

"About the commencement of the battle, Dr. Motley, a gentleman from Kentucky, and myself, were proximate to each other, near a corner of the enemy's breast-work. I saw Motley fall, and asked him if he was hurt. He replied, 'Yes, I believe I am mortally wounded.' I observed, 'Doctor, I will get some one to take care of you.' He responded, 'No; if you whip them, send back a man to assist me; but if you do not, I shall need no assistance.' He died the next day, perfectly resigned to his fate.

"On starting out from our camp to enter upon the attack, I saw an old gentleman, by the name of Curtis, carrying *two* guns. I asked him what was his reason for carrying more than one gun. He answered: 'D—n the Mexicans; they killed my son and son-in-law in the Alamo, and I intend to kill two of them for it, or be killed myself.' I saw the old man again, during the fight, and he told me he had killed his two men, and if he could find Santa Anna, he would cut a *razor-strop out of his back.*

"When the Mexicans were first driven from the point of woods where we encountered them, their officers tried to rally them, but the men cried, 'It's no use, it's no use; there are a *thousand* Americans in the woods.'

"When Santa Anna saw Almonte's division running past him, he called to a drummer, and ordered him to beat his drum. The drummer held up his hands and told him he was shot. He called out then to a trumpeter near him, to sound his horn. The trumpeter replied that he, also, was shot. Just at that instant, a ball from one of our cannon struck a man who was standing near Santa Anna, taking off one side of his head. Santa Anna then exclaimed:—'D—n these Americans, I believe they will shoot us all.' These particulars I received from a little boy, who was one of our prisoners, and who said he was standing near Santa Anna at the time. He immediately mounted his horse, and commenced his flight."

General Rusk's account of the first appearance of Santa Anna in the Texan camp, and his interview with the accomplished and noble-minded son of the venerable Zavala, who, like his father, was a soldier of Freedom, will be read, I doubt not, with much interest. "At the time that Santa Anna was brought into our camp," says the General, "I was walking in company with young Zavala. We approached him together. Santa Anna recognized young Zavala at once, and advanced to meet him, with great apparent cordiality, uttering many expressions of kindness, such as are customary among Mexicans on such occasions; several of which I remember. Among other things, he exclaimed, 'Oh my *friend*, my *friend*, the son of my *early* friend;' with which, and other exclamations in the same strain, he embraced young Zavala, with high indications of *apparent* feeling, and, I think, *dropping a tear*. Young Zavala returned his greeting with that deference which would have been due to his former rank and power; but, at the same time, emitting from his countenance an expression I have scarcely seen on any occasion besides. His look seemed to wither Santa Anna; and staring him full in the face, he replied immediately, with great modesty, and something of a subdued tone, 'It *has* been so, Sir.' Santa Anna evinced plainly that he was much mortified."

The following account of Santa Anna's first interview with General Houston, has been handed to me for insertion. It was written by H. P. Brewster, Esq., a gentleman, as I learn, of great respectability, in the State of South Carolina, and he signs himself "H. P. Brewster, of Laurens District." There are several pariculars stated by Mr. Brewster, in addition to the interview scene, which may gratify the curiosity of some of my readers. "Santa Anna was brought into camp about 11 o'clock, on the day of the 22d. General Houston, in a short respite from pain, had fallen asleep. He awakened, as Santa Anna and the crowd came up to the spot where he lay. The captive President betrayed no emotions of fear; but, placing his hand upon his breast, with a look rather of *reckless independence*, he informed General Houston that he was '*Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of Mexico, who surrendered himself a prisoner.*' Houston's countenance evidently displayed doubt, if not incredulity, as to the *identity* of the character before him. Colonel Almonte, who had been made a prisoner on the 21st, was immediately sent for: he bowed with great respect, upon coming into the presence of the captive General. A conversation then ensued between the two Generals, through the interpretation of Almonte, in which Santa Anna expressed quite a serious anxiety to know the position in which he stood; whether he was a *prisoner of war?* And not being satisfied with the undecided manner in which he was answered, he repeated this inquiry several times. He seemed, almost by intuition, to have gotten insight into Houston's character. Perceiving that flattery fell with no unpleasing force upon his ear, he omitted no opportunity of profiting by this discovery. His compliments were gracefully turned; not, however, entirely divested of the ridiculous bombast of his nation. He said, on one occasion, that '*He* was born to no common destiny who was the *Conqueror of the Napoleon* *of Mexico.*' A man of infinitely less vanity than Houston, might have been betrayed by his courtly flattery. Being disguised in a very humble garb, he seemed quite anxious to explain the reason which induced him to adopt this course; saying, that after the rout commenced, deeming it probable that he would be captured, and knowing the deadly hostility entertained towards him by the soldiery, he wished, if possible, to escape being recognised by them, until he had seen General Houston; with whom he had no doubt he would be able to make arrangements which would result to the advantage of all parties, and prevent the *further effusion of blood.* When the injustice of the War against Texas was once mentioned to him, he replied that the war grew out of the unfair interference of the United States of the North; which offended the *national pride* of Mexico, and left them no alternative but *war* or *disgrace.*

He indulged a singular self-delusion in regard to his own infallibility; for when talking of his reverses of fortune, he attributed all to a blind and wayward destiny, a tyranny over which human wisdom and human power had no influence. 'For,' said he, 'the same troops who yesterday fled in dismay and terror at your first fire, the day before the united efforts of myself and officers could scarcely restrain from attacking you; they were old soldiers, fought bravely with me in Zacatecas; were familiar with, and had been fearless of danger in all its shapes. It was destiny.' After the armistice had been entered into, and he was permitted to hope that his life would be spared, his conversation assumed a tone of gaiety little to be expected in one who had suffered such a sad reverse. To some of the conditions of the armistice he expressed his unequivocal opposition, especially the one in which he agreed to order the command of Gen. Filisola to evacuate the country, saying that Gen. Filisola, having a large number of *brave* men under his command who would oppose the execution of such an order, would therefore be unable to obey. Gen. Rusk replied, that it was a matter of little consequence to the Texans, as they were able, and were determined to *drive* them, if they were not willing to go without.

He displayed great diplomatic skill in the negotiation which was carried on, firmly (at first) opposing every measure by which Mexico was likely to suffer, and Texas to be benefited; declaring, that he had no such power, but finally giving a reluctant assent. His conversation, afterwards, turned upon matters indifferently, in the discussion of which he displayed a strong and versatile mind, and very general historical and political information. He never spoke of military matters, or the relative merits of his officers, except on one or two occasions, speaking very contemptuously of Gen. Cos, (*Martin*, as he called him.) He professed a warm admiration of female character,—and said women were the 'gravy of society.' In passing down the Bayou from San Jacinto to Patrick's, he made a great many observations upon the scenery along the river, and seemed sensibly alive to the force of natural beauty. It was his invariable custom to send his compliments to Gen. Houston, and to inquire into the state of his wound, every morning.

H. P. Brewster,
Laurens District, S. C."

I shall now close this chapter; and will, in the next, inform the reader how the Mexican Dictator was finally disposed of; when I shall suspend, for the present, the history of "Texas and the Texans;" intending, if the public shall not prove wholly unpropitious to this, my first literary experiment, at no distant day, to trace out the farther progress of the Anglo-Americans towards the South-West, and to delineate their history, civil, social, and moral, up to the inauguration of the fourth President of the single-starred Republic, yet to be elected; who I sincerely trust will be in all respects "*worthy of the high vocation wherewith he* *may be called.*" Until this event shall have occurred, the continuation of such a work as the present might easily provoke the suspicion of an attempt to intermeddle with the political concerns of Texas, which I should deeply regret to excite.

CHAPTER VIII.

Treaty with Santa Anna; his departure to Mexico; recapture at Velasco. Public discontent at his liberation. General Henderson, General Green, General Hunt. Firmness of President Burnet; Santa Anna's Protest, and Judge Burnet's reply. Final transmission of the Dictator to Washington City, and return to his own country.

Some disposition was now necessary to be made of Santa Anna, and the other Mexican prisoners, whom the fate of war had thrown into the hands of the victorious Texans. Fifteen or twenty days passed away without any definite action upon this interesting subject. Santa Anna, meanwhile, as has been intimated, was not idle; he was labouring industriously, in various ways, to conciliate the Texan Commander-in-Chief, and rescue *himself*, at least, from the punishment so richly due to his enormities. It is not understood that General Houston ever intended to put in exercise the *lex talionis* upon these wretches; his sensibility recoiled from such a course of proceeding; nor can it be stated with truth that, so far, the least indignity had been offered to the humblest of the prisoners. A partial arrangement had in fact been entered into, at the urgent solicitation of Santa Anna himself, relative to an *armistice*; and a treaty of peace was spoken of, in which the recognition of Texan Independence was to be a *sine qua non*. Such was the precise state of this affair, when the attention of President Burnet was called to it. And never, since the Sabines deliberated relative to the treatment proper to be rendered by them to the Roman army which they had shut up in the Caudine forks, have questions more embarrassing been presented to any people than those which the government of Texas had now to meet. What was to be done with Santa Anna? Should he be set at liberty; retained in custody; or made to expiate his crimes upon the scaffold? Should he be at once shot, according to the well-known Mexican usage in such cases; or be formally tried for his offences against the laws which regulate civilized warfare, and be made to furnish a salutary example to the world at large? What should become of his officers and common soldiers, his associates in captivity—whose hands were red with Anglo-American blood? The responsibility of the Texan government in the premises will be perceived to have been delicate, multiform, and most weighty: a decent respect was due to the judgment of the civilized world; much regard was necessary to be shown to the outraged sensibility of the Texan people; imperious reasons of state were not to be overlooked. Happily for Texas, and for the honour of the Anglo-American race, a Chief Executive magistrate was now in power, who possessed a mind capable of clearly estimating all these high considerations, and who, like all men of true wisdom, was not averse to taking counsel from those associated with him in the management of public concerns. President Burnet determined to meet the crisis fairly—to meet it boldly—and with thorough deliberation; he convoked the members of his cabinet, and invited a free expression of opinion from all of them. Various consultations occurred, ere the course best to be adopted was finally agreed on: and, in the mean time, a good deal of negotiation ensued between persons representing the Texan government and the Mexican Dictator—that Dictator who was constantly supplicating mercy, and suggesting every consideration which he thought would operate in his favour. At length, the following Treaty was drawn up and subscribed on either side, which will be found worthy of particular examination.

"Articles of agreement and solemn compact, made and adopted by David G. Burnet, President of the Republic of Texas, and the undersigned members of the cabinet thereof, on the one part, and Don Antonio Lopes de Santa Anna, President of the Republic of Mexico, and Don Vicente Filisola, General of Divisions, Don Jose Urea, Don Joaquin Ramires y Sesma and Don Antonio Gaona, Generals of Brigades, of the armies of Mexico:

Whereas, The President Santa Anna, with divers officers of his late army, is a prisoner of war in charge of the army of Texas, and is desirous of terminating the contest now existing between the Government of Texas and that of Mexico, in which desire the Generals above named do fully concur, and

Whereas, The President of the Republic of Texas, and the Cabinet, are also willing to stay the further effusion of bood, and to see the two neighbouring Republics placed in relations of friendship, on terms of reciprocal advantage;

Therefore, it is agreed by the President Santa Anna, and the Generals Don Vicente Filisola, Don Jose Urea, Don Joaquin Ramires y Sesma, and Don Antonio Gaona,

1st. That the armies of Mexico shall with all practicable expedition evacuate the territory of Texas, and retire to Monterey, beyond the Rio Grande.

2d. That the armies, in their retreat, shall abstain from all pillage and devastation, and shall not molest any of the citizens of Texas, and shall not carry with them any cattle or other stock, more than may be absolutely necessary for their subsistence, for which a just price *shall* be paid. That all private property that may have been captured by either detachment of the army, shall be deposited at the first convenient point of their march, and left under a sufficient guard, until the proper autherities of Texas shall take possession thereof.

3d. That the army of Texas are to march westwardly, and to occupy such posts as the commanding General may think proper, on the east side of the Rio Grande, or Rio Bravo del Norte.

4th. That the President Santa Anna, in his official character as chief of the Mexican nation, and the Generals Don Vicente Filisola, Don Jose Urea, Don Joaquin Ramires y Sesma, and Don Antonio Gaona, as Chiefs of Armies, do solemnly acknowledge, sanction, and ratify, the full, entire, and perfect Independence of the Republic of Texas, with such boundaries as are hereafter set forth and agreed upon for the same. And they do solemnly and respectively pledge themselves, with all their personal and official attributes, to procure without delay, the final and complete ratification and confirmation of this agreement, and all the parts thereof, by the proper and legitimate Government of Mexico, by the incorporation of the same into a solemn and perpetual Treaty of amity and commerce to be negotiated with that Government, at the city of Mexico, by Ministers Plenipotentiary to be deputed by the Government of Texas for this high purpose.

5th. That the following be, and the same are hereby established and made the lines of demarcation between the two Republics of Mexico and of Texas, to wit: The line shall commence at the estuary or mouth of the Rio Grande, on the western bank thereof, and shall pursue the same bank up the said river, to the point where the river assumes the name of the Rio Bravo del Norte, from which point it shall proceed on the said western bank to the head waters, or source of said river, it being understood that the terms Rio Grande and Rio Bravo del Norte, apply to and designate one and the same stream. From the source of said river, the principal head branch being taken to ascertain that source, a due north line shall be run until it shall intersect the boundary line established and described in the Treaty negotiated by and between the Government of Spain and the Government of the United States of the North; which line was subsequently transferred to, and adopted in the Treaty of limits made between the Government of Mexico and that of the United States; and from this point of intersection the line shall be the same as was made and established in and by the several Treaties above mentioned, to continue to the mouth or outlet of the Sabine river, and from thence to the Gulf of Mexico.

6th. That all prisoners taken by the forces of Mexico be forthwith released, and be furnished with free passports to return to their homes; their clothing and small arms to be restored to them.

7th. That all the fortresses of Texas be forthwith restored without dilapidation, and with all the artillery and munitions of war belonging to them respectively.

8th. The President and Cabinet of the Republic of Texas, exercising the high powers confided to them by the people of Texas, do, for and in consideration of the foregoing stipulations, solemnly engage to refrain from taking the life of the President Santa Anna, and of the several officers of his late army, whom the events of war have made prisoners in their hands, and to liberate the President, Santa Anna, with his private Secretary, and cause him to be conveyed in one of the national vessels of Texas, to Vera Cruz, in order that he may more promptly and effectually obtain the ratification of this compact, and the negotiation of the definitive Treaty herein contemplated by the Government of Mexico with the Government of Texas.

9th. The release of the President Santa Anna shall be made immediately, on receiving the signatures of the Generals, Don Vicente Filasola, Don Jose Urea, Don Joaquin Ramires y Seama, and Don Antonio Gaona, to this agreement, and his conveyance to Vera Cruz as soon afterwards as may be convenient.

10th. The President Santa Anna, and the Generals Don Vicente Filasola, Don Jose Urea, Don Joaquin Ramires y Seama, and Don Antonio Gaona, do, by this act of subscribing this instrument, severally and solemnly pledge themselves on their inviolable parole of honour, that in the event the Mexican Government shall refuse or omit to execute, ratify, confirm and perfect this agreement, they will not, on any occasion whatever, take up arms against the people of Texas, or any portion of them, but will consider themselves bound, by every sacred obligation, to abstain from all hostility towards Texas or its citizens.

11th. That the other Mexican officers, prisoners with the Government of Texas, shall remain in custody, as hostages, for the faithful performance of this agreement, and shall be treated with humanity, and the respect due their rank and condition, until the final disposition of the Mexican Government be ascertained, and a Treaty to be predicated upon the above stipulations, shall be made or rejected by that Government. In the event of a refusal to enter into and ratify such Treaty, on the part of the Mexican Government, the Government of Texas reserves to itself the right to dispose of them as they may think proper and equitable, relative to the conduct of the Mexican forces towards the Volunteers and soldiers of Texas, who have heretofore fallen into their hands.

12th. The high contracting parties mutually agree to refer the Treaty intended to be executed and solemnised by the two Governments of Texas and of Mexico, on the basis established in this compact, to the Government of the United States of the North, and to solicit the guarantee of that Government for the fulfilment, by the contracting parties respectively, of their several engagements: the said parties pledging themselves, in case of any disagreement or defalcation, to submit all matters in controversy to the final decision and adjustment of that Government. For this purpose, the contracting parties shall, as soon as practicable after the ratification of said Treaty, depute one or more Commissioners to the Court of Washington, invested with plenary powers to perfect the object of this stipulation.

13th. Any act of hostility on the part of the retreating Mexican troops, or any depredation upon public or private property committed by those troops, or any impediment presented to the occupation of any part of the territory of Texas, by the forces thereof, on the part of the Mexican troops, shall be considered a violation of this agreement."

The forbearing and humane treatment of Santa Anna by the Texan government seems now to have received general sanction everywhere; and the discretion supposed to have marked the counsels of the infant Republic at this trying juncture, have called forth much eulogy in several high quarters. The author of "Texas and the Texans" is not disposed to discuss this matter; nor does he conceive that any remark which he could offer would be attended with the least advantage or entertainment to the reader. He deems it but justice, though, to one of President Burnet's cabinet at that period, who dissented from his brethren in reference to the line of conduct proper to be pursued towards Santa Anna, to lay before the world, in his own language, the grounds of that dissent. I have misjudged the taste of the reading public, if the following letter of Gen. Lamar will not be perused with more than ordinary pleasure. It is proper here to state, beforehand, that, though this gentleman was decidedly opposed to the extension of mercy to Santa Anna, for reasons most eloquently asserted in the letter just mentioned; he was far from becoming irritated or even displeased with President Burnet and his brethren of the cabinet; on the contrary, when the treaty had been actually made, he at once acquiesced in it, and was one of the most zealous vindicators of his official associates against the assailment with which they were shortly after visited in connection with this same treaty. But thus wrote Gen. Lamar, on the occasion referred to:

"*LETTER of the Secretary of War, to the President and Cabinet of the Republic of Texas, on the subject of the disposition of General Santa Anna and other prisoners of war.*

WAR DEPARTMENT,
REPUBLIC OF TEXAS, 12th May, 1836.

To the President and Cabinet:

GENTLEMEN,—Impressed with the importance of an early determination of the question as to what disposition shall be made of General Santa Anna and other Mexican prisoners in the custody of this government, I beg leave to call you to the consideration of the matter by tendering most respectfully the result of my own reflections upon the subject, without burthening the Cabinet with the various considerations which have conducted me to my conclusions. Whatever course may be decided upon, prompt and energetic execution would seem to be highly advisable. From the tenor of some of our discussions, conducted with frankness and freedom, I infer that my views, in all probability, will be found on this embarrassing question, not in accordance with those of a majority of the body with whom I have the honour to act; but however variant our opinions, there can be but one motive of action, which is patriotism; and but one object to attain, which is the good of the country. Feeling as I do, a great reliance upon both your ability and willingness to perceive and pursue the right, I cannot urge my peculiar opinions with that ardour and zeal which I should do in cases where those with whom I might differ possessed a smaller share of my personal esteem and public confidence. But notwithstanding this unaffected deference to your virtue and wisdom, my convictions are not the less clear and stable, and my obligation to enforce them, as far as my official voice can do it, is not the less imperious and binding.

Coming to my task with a clear conscience, and awarding the same to those with whom I disagree, I will in the first place premise, that the different conclusions at which we have arrived in former discussions in relation to our distinguished prisoner, have arisen from the fact, that whilst he has been considered by most of the Cabinet exclusively as a prisoner of war, I have been disposed to regard him more as an apprehended murderer. The conduct of General Santa Anna will not permit me to view him in any other light. A chieftain battling for what he conceives to be the rights of his country, however mistaken in his views, may be privileged to make hot and vigorous war upon the foe; but when, in violation of all the principles of civilized conflict, he avows and acts upon the revolting policy of extermination and rapine, slaying the surrendering, and plundering whom he slays, he forfeits the commiseration of mankind, by sinking the character of the hero into that of an abhorred murderer. The President of Mexico has pursued such a war upon the citizens of this Republic. He has caused to be published to the world a decree, denouncing as pirates beyond the reach of his clemency, all who shall be found rallying around the standard of our Independence. In accordance with this decree, he has turned over to the sword the bravest and best of our friends and fellow-citizens after they had grounded their arms, under the most solemn pledge that their lives should be spared. He has fired our dwellings; laid waste our luxuriant fields; excited servile and insurrectionary war; violated plighted faith; and inhumanly ordered the cold-blooded butchery of prisoners who had been betrayed into capitulation by heartless professions. I humbly conceive that the proclamation of such principles, and the perpetration of such crimes, place the offender out of the pale of negotiation, and demand at our hands other treatment than what is due a mere prisoner of war. Instinct condemns him as a murderer, and reason justifies the verdict. Nor should the ends of justice be averted because of the exalted station of the criminal, or be made to give way to the suggestions of interest, or any cold considerations of policy. He who sacrifices human life at the shrine of ambition, is a murderer, and deserves the punishment and infamy of one. The higher the offender, the greater reason for its infliction. I am therefore of opinion that our prisoner, General Santa Anna, has forfeited his life by the highest of all crimes, and is not a suitable object for the exercise of our pardoning prerogative.

There are minds, no doubt, that will readily assent to the justice of this sentence, yet, nevertheless, be willing to waive its execution for certain advantages which it is fancied will flow to our country from a wise and judicious negotiation. Of those who cherish this view of the matter, I would respectfully inquire, what surety do they propose for the fulfilment of any stipulations? What good can they hope to result from an extorted treaty? General Santa Anna is our prisoner of war, and as such may be ready to enter into any agreement which our rights may require, or our selfishness exact, but, when restored to liberty and power, will he feel any obligation to comply with terms which he had no agency in dictating? What he assents to whilst a prisoner, he may reject when a freeman. Indeed, the idea of treating with a man in our power, who views freedom in acquiescence, and death in opposition, seems to me more worthy of ridicule than refutation; and to carry on such a negotiation with an individual who never was known to fulfil a voluntary promise against his interest, with the remotest expectation that he will act up to an extorted one, which his pride and resentment spurn, would evince a confidence in human nature dangerous to act upon, and which I should most sincerely deplore if permitted to influence the councils of this Republic. If it be true, as experience leads us to suspect, that but little reliance is to be placed upon the faith even of good men, when it stands in collision with their interest, what dependence or confidence shall we repose upon the word of one, whose sanguinary crimes are equalled only by his treachery and falsehood? Yet such is the acknowledged character of the distinguished individual with whom it is proposed to treat for our Independence, and to restore to liberty and power under a verbal or written pledge that he will promote our wishes and serve our cause. With me such pledges are lighter than the "*moonshine's watery beam.*" I trust them as I would "*a dicer's oaths.*" But, independent of this consideration, it may be very well doubted whether Santa Anna, with every disposition to fulfil any agreement which he may now enter into, will, on his return to Mexico, have the power to do it. It was public opinion which drove him into war with Texas, and the same public sentiment, on his arrival at home, may keep him in the attitude of avowed, if not of actual, hostility to this country. No matter what may be his private feelings, self-preservation, the stability of his power, may depend upon his continued opposition to our views. How can we then expect of him a compliance with any compact formed for the recognition of our Independence, or for any other purpose? The advantage proposed to be gained from his supposed or probable integrity, cannot, of consequence, be realized, even with every willingness on his part to redeem his pledges. I doubt not in the least, that as soon as the news of his defeat and imprisonment shall be sounded within the walls of Mexico, that instant will be lost all his authority in the land, as he has long since lost the affections of his people. He will be powerless either for good or ill. I am, therefore, decidedly opposed to all negotiation or arrangements with him; first, because he is a prisoner, and not free to act; secondly, because he is faithless and unworthy of confidence; and, thirdly, because of the great certainty of his inability to fulfil his promises, even with the desire to do it. But after all, if I should find myself mistaken; if negotiations shall be entered into with him, and all the anticipated blessings be realized; our Independence acknowledged; our national boundary settled; and our rights respected, I shall be mortified with the reflection, that these ends which might have been easily achieved by our valour, have been obtained at the sacrifice of just resentment, and the loss of merited vengeance. I shall certainly rejoice in my country's prosperity, but at the same time shall feel, that whilst her interest was promoted, the ends of justice were perverted.

Opposed, as I stand, to all negotiation with our prisoner, the question very naturally arises:—What is the next best course to adopt after the rejection of the proposal for his execution? I answer, that I am but an ill adviser when I feel myself called upon to forsake the right, to follow the expedient; yet, as I am bound officially to speak, I have no hesitancy in offering as my opinion, that the first thing to which we should direct our attention, is the redemption of our fellow-citizens in captivity, by an exchange of prisoners, according to rank and numbers. When this is effected, the balance of the Mexicans in our power, the officers and soldiers, including Santa Anna and his suite, should remain prisoners of war, in the custody of the Government, during the continuance of hostilities; which I would not cease to prosecute with all the vigour of our strength and resources, until our national rights shall be recognized in a treaty of peace with the Government of Mexico. I feel that our country is fully adequate to the achievement of this desirable end, which I doubt not will be greatly facilitated by holding on to the most influential of our prisoners, whose interest it will be to promote, as speedily as practicable, some arrangement with their government, which shall give liberty to them, and satisfaction to us. If they can be of any possible use to us in bringing about a recognition of our Independence, it must be in this way; it must be by the lingering authority that may still attach to their names in Mexico, together with the personal influence which they may be able to exercise over their friends and partisans, for their redemption. As prisoners of war, it is their interest to forward our views, and they are powerless to do us harm; but if we should release them upon the strength of any pledges which they might make, we turn loose an inveterate enemy, with knowledge increased by experience, and a disposition to injure, augmented by mortified pride, with no guarantee for the fulfilment of promises, except the honour of one, who feels no compunction, and fears no shame. Hence, I vote for their detention as prisoners, and stand opposed to all policy that would give them freedom before the termination of our struggle. And I recommend the adoption of this course the more cheerfully, because, it will operate the dethronement of a tyrant who never possessed power without abusing it, or the affections of his people without betraying them. The detention of Santa Anna in Texas, until a treaty of peace is formed, will strip him of all authority in Mexico; and this will be mercy to that nation, and perhaps to mankind. He will return to the land that has groaned under his despotism, a toothless viper, with the malevolence to strike, but without the fang to wound. Upon his downfall will rise the advocates of liberal principles and the friends of free government. Humanity will rejoice at the respite from blood, and the agitated waves of society will be smoothed and tranquillized by the oil of peace. The ends of justice may not be fully attained, but the brave patriots whose rights have been crushed in the march of this ruthless rioter in blood, will feel some consolation in the reflection, that though he escape the proper expiation of crime, he will experience in the reverses of fortune, some retribution for his merciless wars waged against human liberty and human life.

I am understood, I presume, as recommending this course only as a secondary one. My mind adheres to its original conviction, that our prisoner should be tried and punished for the crime of murder. I still feel that strict justice requires this course; that it is sustained by reason, and will receive the sanction of the present generation, as well as the approving voice of posterity. If the Cabinet could concur with me in this view of the subject, and march boldly up to what I conceive to be the line of right, it would form a bright page in the history of this infant nation. It would read well in the future annals of the present period, that the first act of this young Republic was to teach the Caligula of the age, that in the administration of public justice, the vengeance of the law falls alike impartially on the Prince and the Peasant. It is time that such a lesson should be taught the despots of the earth. They have too long enjoyed an exemption from the common punishment of crime. Throned in power, they banquet on the life of man, and then purchase security by the dispensation of favours. We have it in our power now to give an impulse to a salutary change in this order of things. We are sitting in judgment upon the life of a stupendous villain, who like all others of his race, hopes to escape the blow of merited vengeance by the strong appeals which his exalted station enables him to make to the weak or selfish principles of our nature. Shall he be permitted to realize his hopes, or not? Shall our resentment be propitiated by promises, or shall we move sternly onward, regardless of favour or affection, to the infliction of a righteous punishment? My voice is '*Fiqt justitia, ruat cœlum.*' Send forth this decree, and all will be well. It will be a corner stone of adamant to the Government which we are about to erect. On such a solid foundation we shall be able to rear a fair fabric of freedom with such a pleasing combination of beauty and strength as to attract the admiration of the virtuous, and at the same time bid defiance to the assaults of the vicious. But if on the other hand, we should be overawed from this course by the dread of consequences, or be seduced from it by the flattering suggestions of a selfish policy; what will the present generation say;

what will be the language of posterity; but that we were deficient in necessary energy for the times; that we had lost in the Cabinet what we gained in the Field, and that the selfish character of our councils had dimmed the chivalry of San Jacinto?

I do not fly to the law of retaliation in support of the measure I propose. I repudiate the doctrine of '*lex talionis.*' All that I ask is even-handed justice. Give to crime the punishment that is due. Justice is a lovely attribute. If personified, she would rival the masterwork of Praxiteles. I would not mar the least of her beauties; I would not offer violence to one of her pure and holy precepts for all the diadems of all the Cæsars. Amongst her sacred principles, that which demands an impartial administration of public law is perhaps the most exalted and pre-eminent. I require only that this be not set aside in adjudicating the case of our distinguished prisoner. Let the same punishment be awarded him, which we would feel bound in honour and conscience to inflict on a subaltern, charged and convicted of the like offence. This is all that justice can require. If he have committed no act which would bring condemnation on a private individual, then let him be protected; but if he have perpetrated crimes which a man in humble life would have to expiate upon the scaffold, then why shield him from the just operations of a law to which another is held amenable? The exalted criminal finds security in negotiation, whilst the subaltern offender is given over to the sword of the executioner. Surely no consideration of interest or policy can atone for such a violation of principle. View the matter in every possible light, and Santa Anna is still a murderer. If it were any other person, we should all feel it to be our imperious duty to invoke upon his head the thunders of the violated law; but being him, what becomes of this imperious duty? It holds a parley to calculate the profits of a dereliction. I would most respectfully press upon the Cabinet the extreme danger of all policy that conflicts with an impartial execution of strict justice; and would also enforce the important reflection that a negotiation with a villain, for his forfeited life, is but the licensing of crime.

The impropriety of the course, which I fear we are about to pursue, in giving life and liberty to one so unworthy of either, in consideration of pecuniary or political advantages, may be easily illustrated by an imaginary case. Turn to any of the blood-thirsty tyrants whose murders darken the pages of ancient history, Nero for instance, and place him upon trial for his multiform iniquities against God and nature. Behold him in the pride of his power; the wheels of his chariot rattle on the bones of his foes, and the banner of extermination floats in the sighs of a heart-broken people. Behold him in his hours of revelry; the wailing of the widow is the music of the festal hall, and the tear of the orphan is the nectar of the banquet. Behold him in the moments of cruelty and wrath; he rips the womb of his mother; stamps his iron heel upon the bosom of beauty, and drinks the blood of the blue-eyed infant. Suppose he were now arraigned before us in all the plenitude of crime, with the accumulated guilt of forty years flowering on his head and staring us in the face; suppose it were proven upon him that the history of his whole life was one continued series of slaughter, rapine, and desolation; that he could devote himself to the amusement of the viol in the midst of a burning city, and walk over the prostrate bodies of the dying and the dead, from the instinctive love of cruelty and blood? I ask you in the name of outraged nature and insulted justice, what should be our verdict against so foul a demon? Every virtuous emotion, every manly feeling, every ennobling principle of the human heart, proclaims in a voice of thunder—*instant death and eternal shame.* But suppose in opposition to all the eloquence of nature, we were to whisper in the ear of the princely criminal that he had gold, and power, and dominion; and that though his crimes were manifold and great, he might still elude the punishment which his villany deserved, if he would give us gold to pay our public debt; if he would enlarge our national boundary, and elevate us in the scale of political dignity; I ask in the name of common honesty, what would be the judgment of mankind upon such a transaction? What could it be less, than that we had dimmed the lustre of our national escutcheon by a sacrifice of principle for the public good? And now I would most respectfully put the question; in what essential particular does this imaginary case differ from the real one under consideration! Who is Santa Anna but the Nero of the present day? Is he not the foe to all virtue? Has he not stabbed at public liberty? Has he not rioted in human gore; ravaged realms; violated treaties, and stands he not now before us the invader of our country, and the cold-blooded butcher of our friends and brethren? Why hesitate then to consign him to that punishment which his deeds demand? By negotiating with him for his life and liberty, do we not in effect publish to the world, that our abhorrence of crime is subordinate to our attachment to interest; and that we are willing to stifle the course of justice and forego a just resentment, for certain political advantages, which it were just as easy to win by our arms, and which I fear, after all negotiation, we shall still have to purchase and maintain by our valour. Poor worth that political dignity which is bought at the price of honour! I am certain that there is not a gallant son of chivalry, whose faithful sabre played like a meteor on the plains of San Jacinto, but will feel that his trusty blade drank the blood of the foe in vain, when he hears that the prime object of vengeance has been permitted to purchase his life and depart the land, in liberty and peace. It will be useless to talk to him about national Independence, and national domain, so long as the bones of his murdered brethren lie bleaching on the Prairies unrevenged. Treble the blessings proposed to be gained by this negotiation will be considered as poor and valueless, when weighed against that proud and high resentment which the soldier feels for wrongs received. In the day of battle the animating cry was 'ALAMO.' And why? Because it was known that the slaughterer of the Alamo was then in the field. It was him that was sought. It was not against the poor and degraded instruments of his tyranny that we warred; they fell it is true before our avenging strokes like grass before a reaper's sickle, but it was only because they stood in the way of our march to the audacious Moloch. Through a forest of lances and a storm of canister, we rushed upon the bold offender, and the rejoicing spirits of the GEORGIA BATTALION hailed their hour of vengeance come, when lo! a frigid figure by the name of *policy* rises between the victim and the avenging blow, and shields the murderer with a piece of parchment and a little sealing wax.

The great difficulty in dealing with our prisoner as his crimes deserve, arises, as I have already intimated, from the fact, that education will not permit us to strip him of his ill-got honours, and view him in the attitude of a private individual. We are taught, by what we see around us in early childhood, to reverence wealth and power; and it is almost impossible in after life to emancipate the mind from the slavish thraldom; so that when we approach the guilty lords of creation, there is an involuntary shrinking back, as if we deemed them privileged in enormity, and not amenable to us for their outrages. We feel that we should not deal with them as we would with ordinary men. If a peasant convicted of murder, shall offer a bribe for the preservation of his life, it meets with prompt and indignant repulsion; but if a prince, under like circumstances, shall in the fulness of his power, propose some lordly favour, it is accepted with avidity, as if it were upon our part a virtuous performance of duty. Besides this, we flatter ourselves that there is nothing wrong in the transaction, because we are not personally and privately the beneficiaries of the bargain; but certainly the right, or wrong, doth not depend upon who are the recipients, whether the public or an individual. If we have a right thus to act for the good of the nation, we can do the same for the good of a community; and if for a community, we can for a family; and if for a family, why may not that family be our own? This mode of reasoning will readily exhibit the fallacy, if not the immorality of that doctrine, which draws a distinction between a high and a low offender, and justifies a negotiation with the one, which would be odious and criminal with the other. Let us apply it to the case before us. A man is in our custody as a prisoner, who is guilty of the most exalted crimes, perfidy and murder; and who, if he were a private individual, we should feel ourselves bound in conscience to God and man to hang upon a gallows as high as Haman's; but who, in consideration of his being president of a mighty nation, a man of popularity and influence, is allowed to purchase exemption from punishment, and bid defiance to the united condemnation of justice and of vengeance: and we hope to escape all censure and reproach for this partial and mercenary proceeding, because it is done, not for our own but for the public good. Really I know of no principle in that pure and sacred code published upon smoking Sinai, that will at all excuse this invidious distinction and obvious selfishness in the administration of public justice. The dignity of a criminal cannot sanctify his crimes; neither should his gold or his influence be permitted to purchase impunity. It is in vain that the slayer of my people approach with his bond and his signet: though he bind himself upon a sheet of steel to fill the public coffers with the gold of Ophir, and to exalt my nation to the rank of Macedon, it shall not turn aside the course of natural justice, which surely ought, for weal or woe, to fall on all alike. To act up to this principle requires no ordinary moral effort. We have to struggle against the force of instinct, education and habit. But certain I am that no draft will ever be dishonoured when fairly drawn upon the conscience and integrity of this Cabinet. I am only endeavouring to convince them that the one which they are about to discount is unworthy of acceptance, because it wants the endorsement of reason. Without a full reliance upon their high integrity, I should not thus address myself to their understanding. It is because I know them from personal acquaintance to be alive to all the virtuous feelings and ennobling sentiments of the heart, that I now appeal to them so earnestly, to discard those antiquated and exploded notions which have so long given immunity to guilt and thrown unmerited protection around the gigantic villains of the world. In the name of that freedom which despotism has so often crushed, and in behalf of that humanity which hath been so ruthlessly violated, I call upon my associate adjudicators of a tyrant's fate to shut their ears to his seductive overtures; to turn from his proffered blessings, and to banish from their minds every consideration except the simple ends of justice. Scorning the suggestions of selfishness or fear, let us look alone at the crimes and not at the criminal; at the wrongs received and not at the favours tendered; and gazing with a steady eye upon that high and exalted morality that knows nor high nor low, nor rich nor poor in the administration of law, let us march boldly onward to the simple line of right, and teach at least one salutary lesson to the demons of mankind, that in this government, young and feeble as she is, there is no security for crime; and that the sword of justice entrusted to our hands, to defend her rights and avenge her wrongs, can pierce the purple robes of royalty as easily as the plain raiments of the humble man. Let us do this and receive the approbation of all posterity.

Do you hesitate? I entreat you to consider the character of those whose death we are called upon to avenge. They were no mercenary soldiery—no hired menials. They were ornaments to the land they left. The flowers of honour and the pride of chivalry. The history of war cannot furnish a nobler band of patriotic heroes than those who rallied around the standard of Fannin. I knew many, very many of them personally, and can testify to their generous spirit. A braver people never hung the sabre on the thigh. In that dark and portentous period of our affairs, when the tempest of desolation was thickening over the land, they nobly threw themselves between the oppressor and the oppressed, and made their bosoms the shields of our liberty, our homes, and our firesides. At the very first signal of alarm their banners were thrown to the breeze, and their bayonets brightened in the sunbeam. Those banners are torn, and the bayonets are broken. And where is the gallant BATTALION? Go ask the tyrant where. He who calmly sits in the shade of yonder piazza as if his bosom bore all peace within, can tell you if he will, that it was by the authority of his order, that the Spartan band, under the hope of liberty and home, was marched from the holy sanctuary of God to the awful slaughterfield; he can tell you that whilst his brave General Urea and his whole army wept at the stern decree, himself alone rejoiced in the roar of the musquetry, that stained the plain of Labahia, and spread the horrid banquet to the bird of carnage. Never did the broad eye of day look upon a fouler murder; never were a better and a braver people sacrificed to a tyrant's ferocity. The most of them were youthful heroes. I doubt not that each received, on leaving home, the Spartan injunction to bring back his father's shield, or be brought back upon it. Gallant youths! they did their duty well; and their fame will yet be the burthen of some "high-toned Hoel's harp and soft Llewellyn's lay." Forgive me that I do not pour "the meed of one melodious tear." I cannot weep for those whose souls have found a "bright reversion in the sky." Their death inspires no other feeling than a hallowed remembrance of their virtues, and a fixed determination, if possible, to avenge their wrongs. If he by whose order they were basely murdered, shall escape the thunders of retribution, it may not be done by my approval. The blood of Fannin, and Fenner, and the gallant Shackelfords shall not plead with me in vain. Whatever may be the honest views and feelings of others, I beg permission to publish to every parent who mourns the loss of a bright-eyed son in that all horrible transaction, that there is at least one in the councils of this Republic, who is mindful of the vengeance due his gallant boy, and who will not forego its payment even for a nation's weal. I cannot, will not compromise with a crimson-handed murderer. Let it not be told in Gath, nor published in the streets of Askalon, that we took the gold of our foes in payment for the blood of our friends.

It will be perceived that I have said but little in reference to the policy of the measure which I propose. I have purposely avoided it, because it is useless to discuss consequences, when principle points out the course. The main design of this letter has been to unfold the feelings and motives which have influenced my decision in the case; and as policy has had but a small share in the matter, I have been unwilling to enter into any formal argument upon this branch of the subject. Yet nevertheless, if so disposed, I believe it were not difficult to prove that the course I urge is as safe on the score of policy as it is sound in prin ciple. The release of Santa Anna will not facilitate the recognition of our Independence in Mexico, because when he returns to his country, he will be wanting both in the willingness and ability to bring it about; and his execution cannot retard the end, because his death will be as acceptable in Mexico as in Texas, and can engender no additional hatred and hostility to this country. If he return, public opinion will not permit him to promote our wishes; and if he die, it will operate as a salutary warning to those who shall lead a future expedition into this country. It will be a guarantee against the savage butchery of prisoners, and confine the movements of the enemy within the limits of civilized warfare. If it be for a moment supposed that it might cause the concentration and return of the Mexican forces now retiring from our borders, I can only answer that nothing can be more improbable; but if true, it will not be a movement of much alarm, for the same chivalry that strewed the plains of San Jacinto can just as easily reap the remaining harvest. I have always thought, and still believe, that our sole reliance should be upon our swords and not upon the faith of Santa Anna. If the armies now on the retreat shall dare a countermarch, there will not be in the next battle a Mexican left to tell the tale of their defeat; and if another expedition against us shall be gotten up in the Fall or the Spring thereafter, there will come into our country such a cavalcade of gallant heroes as will make their chivalry to skip. They may pour their effeminate thousands upon our borders as 'numerous as the leaves that strew the Vale of Valambrosa;' but we will only sweep them from the soil indignant, with a hurricane of death. The very first army that turns its face to the East will awaken a war which will move onward and onward over the broad prairies of the West, knowing no termination until it reaches the walls of Mexico, where we shall plant the standard of the *Single Star* and send forth our decrees in the voice of our artillery.

Such, Gentlemen, are my humble views of this embarrassing question, submitted with a little more prolixity than I had promised or intended. If aught that I have said, however, can have any influence upon the decision of the Cabinet, I shall not regret the labour bestowed or the time consumed; but if otherwise, I can only promise to yield a cheerful acquiescence to whatever course may be determined upon by a majority of our body. Harmony in our councils is indispensable at this crisis to the maintenance of official confidence and the preservation of public tranquillity; but as unanimity of sentiment on this occasion is not to be had, I can do nothing further to avoid the evils of dissension than to co-operate with the Cabinet in the execution of its final decision; which I shall do the more readily, because I have so many reasons to know, that whatever is ordered will be aimed for the best. That my feelings and opinions may not be misapprehended, I beg leave, by way of recapitulation, to state that toward the common soldiers among our Mexican prisoners, I cherish no malice or resentment, looking upon the most of them in the light of unwilling instruments in the hands of tyranny; neither can I perceive in the conduct of the officers any particular acts which might not be considered as legitimate in a soldier devoted to his profession, or in a patriot enlisted in the cause of his country. These, after an exchange of prisoners, I would retain in the custody of the government until the conclusion of the war; but, viewing General Santa Anna altogether in a different attitude, I would adopt the course in reference to him which I have already urged. His crimes being sanguinary, I would read his punishment from the Code of DRACO.

With the highest confidence in the integrity and patriotism of the Cabinet, I have the honour, Gentlemen,

To subscribe myself,
Your obedient servant,
MIRABEAU B. LAMAR,
Secretary of War."

When it was made known to the Texan army (stationed then at Victoria, under the command of Gen. Rusk) that the treaty with Santa Anna had been actually entered into, and that in accordance with its provisions the Mexican Dictator would be shortly set at liberty, great and almost universal dissatisfaction was seen to display itself in camp. The brave men who had conquered at San Jacinto could not bear the thought of this stupendous malefactor departing in peace and safety after committing such a world of mischief on this side of the Rio Grande, the tokens of which they were then beholding spread abroad through Western Texas. Especially did some of them object to his being sent home in a *Government vessel.* It seemed to their minds almost a mockery, both of the dead and living, to escort the Destroyer back to Mexico with something like public honours. It was perhaps but natural that plain soldiers should take this view of the subject, and that in their bosoms, at least for the moment, the sentiment of vengeance should have preponderated over all considerations of mere policy. Several circumstances had occurred calculated greatly to strengthen this spirit of opposition to the treaty. When Filisola, then in chief command of the Mexican army, had been ordered by Santa Anna to fall back beyond the Rio Grande, he had evidently done so both reluctantly and tardily. Many acts of violence of a most irritating character were committed by the retreating Mexicans in the line of their countermarch to the West, intelligence of which was constantly reaching the soldiers of Freedom. It was even rumoured, and confidently believed by not a few, that Filisola had made all the necessary arrangements for a *re-invasion* of Texas, and only deferred action until he could learn that Santa Anna was out of the hands of the Texans, and had probably gained the high seas. Four thousand troops, it was positively known, had recently concentrated at San Luis Potosi,[*] whose destination seemed to be Eastward. About this period, too, General Wall, of the Mexican army, made a strange visit to the Texan encampment at Victoria, which was productive of extraordinary excitement. This individual was returning from an interview with Santa Anna; and stopped at Victoria, where his conduct was such as to induce a general belief that he came upon an errand of espionage. His general demeanour also was so indecently arrogant, that it was difficult for the commanding officer of the Texan army to save him from personal violence. Such was the state of things[*]

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[*] The state of feeling in the Texan army at this moment may be inferred from a letter written by General Rusk to General Green, some twenty-five days after the period above referred to, giving information of the supposed design of the Mexican army to re-invade Texas. That letter was as follows:

"HEAD QUARTERS, Victoria, 17th June, 1836.

To General Thomas J. Green,

SIR,—My spies have just brought information from Matamoras, of the date of the 9th and 10th instant.

It consists of letters from Captains Carnes and Teal, and Major Miller, who were arrested, after having received passports from General Filisola. The information is of the most important character. It details the fact that Filisola was ordered to turn back with his troops about half way between Matamoras and San Patricio. Urea had been appointed Commander-in-Chief, and had arrived in Matamoras, on his march to Texas with *four thousand new troops.* Four thousand more were to embark at Vera Cruz in a few days.

when a meeting occurred in the Texan encampment at the place just mentioned, composed of the whole army, at which resolutions were adopted, in decided disapproval of the course of the government towards Santa Anna. This meeting appointed a committee of officers to correspond immediately with the President on this subject, and a letter was accordingly written by the committee, to which many honourable names were subscribed, in which the President was urged most warmly against the execution of that part of the Treaty, relating to the liberation of the Mexican Dictator. Other matters of supposed grievance were specified in the same letter, not important here to be observed upon. This communication reached the President at Velasco, where the government was then located, in a few days, and called forth from him a spirited reply, in which he endeavoured to set his own conduct in a proper point of view before his fellow-citizens. The whole correspondence is before me, and would be here inserted, but for certain terms of reproach, on both sides, which it is believed that the parties, at this time, are respectively inclined to regret.

Urea took up the line of march from Matamoras for Labahia about four days ago. They have all sworn to exterminate the Texans or never to return to Mexico. My force does not exceed *three hundred and fifty men.* I have ordered in the Cavalry that were directed to join you, and have also ordered Major Ward, with his command, to join me immediately.

You will immediately see the necessity of joining me, with all the force you can raise. You had best march by way of Casey's, on the Colorado. It would be well to detail all the Cavalry you can in advance, as they are the most important troops for immediate service. I have directed all supplies, &c., to Cox's Point, on the opposite side of the La Baca.

I have the honour to be,
With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
Thomas J. Rusk,
Brigadier General Commanding.

Issue Proclamations, and bring on all the Volunteers you can raise on the march, as there is not a moment to lose. T. J. Rusk."

President Burnet and his cabinet were still at Velasco on the first day of June, not five days after the correspondence just alluded to. The Texan schooner Invincible was anchored off the bar, in sight of the town, with Santa Anna and suite on board, under sailing orders, when the steamer Ocean and schooner Pennsylvania arrived in port, directly from New Orleans. The two vessels last named had brought over General Thomas J. Green, and several hundred volunteers from the United States. General Green found great excitement prevailing in Velasco, as well as at Quintana, on the opposite side of the Brassos river, relative to the release of Santa Anna. The Dictator took formal leave of the Texan army that day, in the following communication:

"FAREWELL OF GENERAL SANTA ANNA TO THE TEXAN ARMY.

My friends! I have been a witness of your courage in the field of battle, and know you to be generous. Rely with confidence on my sincerity, and you shall never have cause to regret the kindness shown me. In returning to my native land, I beg you to receive the sincere thanks of your grateful friend. Farewell!

ANT. LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

Velasco, 1st June, 1836."

But the Texans generally, then at Velasco, were far from relying on the *sincerity* of Santa Anna: they could not give him an atom of their *confidence*. His pledges had been too often signally violated for them to "trust to the voice of the charmer"; though it is even true that he did charm quite wisely, and perchance not wholly without success. The Anglo-Americans who have been spoken of as having recently arrived, were still less inclined to give credit to the persuasive words of the Dictator, or to say to him in the first moment of meeting, "for ever fare thee well!" Before the Invincible had yet departed from port, a public meeting was seen to assemble in Velasco, at which addresses were delivered by several gentlemen of extraordinary eloquence, among whom may be mentioned General Henderson,*

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* It would be doing violence to my own feelings, and, I think, to the reader's, not to say something more, here, of one who has subsequently rendered such signal service to the Texan Republic. I cannot speak of General Henderson properly without, perchance, provoking a charge of *egotism;* but having made up my mind to run the hazard of this imputation, I proceed to say:—Early in the spring of 1836, I went from my own residence in Clinton, Mississippi, to Canton, the seat of justice of the adjoining county of Madison. The result of the battle of San Jacinto had not been then ascertained. The Texan cause was considered in that part of the world almost entirely hopeless. General Green of Texas had visited the interior of Mississippi, about ten days before, and various public meetings had been held, in which he most eloquently appealed to the sympathies of our people in favour of their brother Anglo-Americans, beyond the Sabine. Several gentlemen had discussed the subject in connection with General Green, whose names it is unnecessary now to mention. The whole of middle Mississippi was in a state of high excitement. General Green had distributed various military commissions, and the gentlemen holding them (including the hero of the Fredonian war, Major *Benjamin W. Edwards,*) were actively engaged in raising a force to go to the relief of Texas. When I arrived in Canton, on the occasion mentioned, the Circuit Court of the County was in session, but soon adjourned to make way for a Texas meeting. An individual, burning with zeal for Texas, addressed the meeting first; that individual was the humble person now writing. When I stepped down from the rostrum, it was gracefully ascended by a young gentleman whom I had never seen before. The person of that young gentleman was noble and commanding; his voice presently proved itself to be both strong and musical; his eyes and whole countenance flashed forth the light of commingled thought and passion. That young orator swept the audience before him like a whirlwind. "Who is he?" exclaimed many voices, and the response was, "That is Mr. Henderson, a lawyer of uncommon promise, and of easy fortune, who has just emigrated from North Carolina, and settled among us." To the honour of Madison County be it said, that several thousand dollars were at once subscribed, and various young men resolved to go forth to the rescue of their brethren in Texas. I was soon introduced to *General* Henderson (for by such title is that young orator now distinguished). I spent a day in his society, and have never seen him since. Next morning he started to Texas; and made his debût at Velasco in the manner above related. General Henderson has since been Attorney General of the Texan Republic,

Colonel Colingsworth, and General Lamar. The two first were decidedly opposed to Santa Anna's being permitted to leave the country; and a large majority of those whom

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Secretary of State, Minister to England, and has latterly returned to the bosom of his adopted country, to render services which I hope to record in a future page.

When General Henderson started to Texas, he went in company with another gentleman, also a North Carolinian by birth, a Mississippian by residence, General Memucan Hunt. General Hunt attended the meeting in Velasco also; since which time the world has beheld his exertions for the cause of Texas in a high Diplomatic capacity, which exertions the reader will presently find commended by a pen of much higher dignity than my own. General Hunt has been Secretary of the Navy of the Texan Republic, and has acted in several other public situations; his acts in connection with which will come hereafter under review. I hope to be pardoned for concluding this hasty and imperfect notice of a beloved and much esteemed friend, with the following anecdote:—I chanced to be in the City of New York during the summer of 1836. I found General Hunt there, when I arrived. He was endeavouring to make certain fiscal arrangements, by means of which he would be able to send off to Texas a much needed supply of arms and ammunition. Various expedients had been fallen on without success. A man, whose unfortunate history, subsequently, makes it truly painful to allude to him, General Swartwout, was then engaged actively and zealously in facilitating General Hunt's plans; for, whatever may be poor Swartwout's faults in other respects, be it said to his honour, he was an enthusiastic and efficient friend of the Texan cause. He proposed, one day, to General Hunt, that he should go with him to the house of the great Capitalist, *John Jacob Astor*, in order to see whether he would not, out of his great stores, do something for the infant Republic. Arrangements were made for the visit, and he who is now writing, was requested to make one of the company. Now, Mr. Astor lived at a beautiful place, proximate to Hurl-Gate, about which all who have hung enchanted (and who has not?) over the pages of Washington Irving, already know much. The company mentioned were received by Mr. Astor in his front piazza. The day was intensely hot; and the old gentleman was cooling himself in the fresh breeze from the bay, after dinner. He was not alone. A man was seated opposite to him, in that same piazza, whom he immediately left, rather abruptly, without our being even introduced to him. We were invited into a piazza on the opposite side of the house. The conversation which occurred will not be recited. Suffice it to say, that those who represented Texas on this occasion, did all in their power to persuade the illustrious banker, that he had a fair chance to immortalize himself they addressed agreed with them in sentiment. When General Lamar was called upon to speak, the excitement of the assemblage had reached a point of intensity seldom surpassed. Every eye was turned to the speaker, and every ear was erect to hear the voice of the only one of President Burnet's cabinet who had been originally in favour of inflicting capital punishment on Santa Anna. He commenced by stating the opinion which he had expressed on the point then under consideration in the Cabinet Council, and read extracts from that opinion, (which had been intermediately published,) in farther explanation. He then paused. "These,"* said he, "were my views as a member of the cabinet; these views I should declare again, under similar circumstances. But, my friends, the issue is not the same issue that then had to be determined. A

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by *advancing* to the rescue of a people struggling for Liberty: suffice it to say, that Mr. Astor had no money to spare in that way; he told us that he had recently disposed of all his estate to his child or children, (I forget which) save about $75,000 per annum; which sum, though apparently large, he had full need of, for various purposes;—"For," said he, "not a day passes over my head, that some application is not made to me for money. Did you observe that man whom we left in the front piazza? He has come a hundred or two miles, to announce to me, as he has been just doing, that he has been praying for my pecuniary welfare for many years past; heaven has answered his prayers, and I am rich; and now he conceives that justice requires something like a *distribution of profits*, in which he shall come in for a dividend of several hundred dollars." This statement was just sufficient to still our application in favour of Texas, at once; and I left Mr. Astor, perfectly convinced, that, whatever may be his aspirations in other respects, and however manifold his charities, he has not the smallest ambition to be recognized as one of those "true lords" of the world, spoken of by the poet, whose

Every loan
Is not a merely speculative hit,
But seats a nation or upsets a throne.

*I only undertake to describe this affair, as I have heard it from many; the words of General Lamar, with the speech and subsequent dialogue with President Burnet, I wrote upon recollection of various conversations between us. The whole will be therefore received *cum grano salis*.

Treaty has since been made; our National Faith is pledged in behalf of that Treaty; and I, for one, am for carrying all its provisions into full effect." He then spoke in terms of elegant commendation of the President, vouched for his patriotism and absolute fidelity to the cause of Texan Independence, and invoked to calm and moderate proceedings. The speech of General Lamar is thought by those who heard it to have had much effect in assuaging popular frenzy. Certain it is that no violence was done either to President Burnet or Santa Anna, though there was some ground for apprehension as to both of them at one time. That evening a singular dialogue occurred between General Lamar and President Burnet, in the course of which the former observed to the latter: "Sir, your conduct is now the subject of reproach among our countrymen: mine of applause. The day will come when the case will be reversed: I shall be censured by many for urging the death of Santa Anna —whilst you will be praised for releasing him, upon the terms of the Treaty, from merited punishment. At any rate, we are friends, now and for ever." And so have they been ever since, and so, doubtless, they will always remain.

It being now evident to the President, that it was almost the unanimous wish of the Texan citizens that Santa Anna should not be permitted to set sail, he resolved to comply with public sentiment so far as to remand the Dictator to the shore, and he accordingly issued an order to that effect next morning. This determination was in part the result of an interview with General Green, in which that officer had very nobly pledged himself that no violence or indignity should be offered to the President by any of the soldiers under his command, and that he would shield him from injury, if necessary, by the hazard of his own life.* It is due to President Burnet to state, that he firmly resisted all efforts made at this period to constrain him to resign the Presidential station; declaring that he had been called to

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* It is not in the present work that *appropriate* notice of the various important services rendered by General Thomas Jefferson Green, to the cause of Independence in Texas, can be rendered; in a subsequent work, I shall take pleasure in gratifying the curiosity of the public on

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this subject, fully. It is but right, though, here, to state one or two facts within the author's own personal knowledge which may serve to present General Green in the attitude in which he deserves to stand before the world, as one of the *disinterested* champions of Liberty beyond the Sabine, of whom so large a number sprung up in the United States at this period. General Green is a native of North Carolina, was educated at West Point, married and settled in Tennessee,—removed to the State of Mississippi, and shifted his residence again to the Territory of Florida; where he had been living several years, when he received intelligence that the Revolutionary struggle in Texas had commenced, and that the Anglo-Americans there had laid siege to San Antonio (de Bexar); upon which he hastily disposed of his plantation, and set out for Texas, determined to the utmost of his ability to further the cause of Liberty and Independence in this fair region. He reached New Orleans, when he heard of the fall of the Alamo. On the 28th day of February, 1835, General Green sailed from New Orleans to Texas. In the Town of Natchitoches, on his way, he met General Thomas J. Chambers, a Texan of high accomplishments and character, who was proceeding to the United States to procure men and munitions of war to enable the Texans to encounter the large Mexican army then known to be advancing towards their borders. General Chambers announced to him that he intended to pledge Texan lands in the United States for the attainment of the purposes mentioned, and hoped to get back to Texas in 60 days with his Division. General Green stopped long enough here to draw a power of attorney, authorizing General Chambers to sell or hypothecate a fine body of Mississippi lands of which he was owner, in aid of his objects, and pushed on to San Augustin—where he enlisted as a volunteer in a body of troops then raising at that place. Being well mounted, he travelled more rapidly than his company, and arrived in a day or two at Groce's, where the main army of Texas was then stationed. Being personally known to several members of the Texan Cabinet, he was urged to accept the commission of Brigadier General, and return immediately to the United States, to raise additional means of every kind for the prosecution of the War. This application could not, of course, be refused, and accordingly he set out for the United States without delay. On the way, he purchased considerable supplies of powder, and forwarded the same to Texas. Late in the month of March, General Green arrived at the City of Natchez, found much excitement prevailing there, and held interviews with two distinguished citizens of Mississippi, remarkable alike for their chivalry and general accomplishments,—General John A. Quitman, and General the duties of the office without any solicitation on his own part; that he had sworn to execute those duties faithfully; and that no dangers or sufferings could induce him to resign the only portion of the civil authority of the Republic then in operation, when, by doing so, an *interregnum* would arise, which might prove fatal to the cause of Independence itself.

The order issued by the President for the recall of Santa Anna was directed to the Commander of the Invincible, and simply commanded him to bring the prisoner on shore. A response was promptly made by Santa Anna himself, avowing his resolution not to leave the vessel alive. A

Felix Houston, both of whom were preparing to move towards Texas at the head of a fine body of Mississippi volunteers. This is not the proper place to notice the services rendered to Texas subsequently by the two gentlemen just named; with all the pride of a brother Mississippian, I shall do justice to both of them hereafter. From Natchez, General Green proceeded to New Orleans. Here he immediately established several recruiting stations, under Major Ward and others; and borrowed $90,000, all of which he laid out in provisions and munitions of war, which he sent to Texas without delay. "Here," says the journal of General Green, "I met General Felix Houston, and General * * * * of Mississippi, who offered their own names in connection with mine, sustained by a pledge of property, for $200,000, provided that sum could be raised by the Banks at New Orleans." The journal of General Green thus continues: "Travelled up to Natchez, Vicksburg, and Clinton,—addressed public meetings at the two latter places with General Foote, and returned to New Orleans." When General Green got back to New Orleans, he found a large number of distressed women and children thrown by the Revolution of Texas upon the charity of their Anglo-American brethren and sisters. He raised funds for their relief: found the crew and officers of the Texan schooner Invincible in the Calaboose, upon an accusation of Piracy, and employed counsel to defend them, by whose instrumentality they were shortly after acquitted and set at liberty. I shall not continue the enumeration of this gentleman's labours in New Orleans anterior to his second visit to Texas; it is sufficient to say, in general terms, that it is a fact well known in Texas, which it is not probable will ever be forgotten, that his uncommon activity enabled him to throw more men, provisions, and munitions of war into that country, in the short space of a month or two, than any other individual whatsoever had succeeded in contributing.

second order was then despatched, which only provoked a similar reply. A committee of gentlemen were then sent on board, consisting of General Green, General Hunt, General Henderson, Colonel B. F. Smith, and Bailey Hardiman, Esquire, who visited the Invincible at three o'clock, P. M., of the 3d of June, for the purpose of bringing off the Dictator dead or alive. These gentlemen found Santa Anna in a state of extreme agitation, "alternately raving* like a madman and crying like a child—now denying that he had any agency in the massacre at Goliad; anon, threatening to take away his own life, sooner than go ashore to be delivered up to what he called the *new* army from the United States, which he believed to be bent on his destruction!" General Green goes on to say: "The prisoner continued to act this strange part for about two hours—stating, meanwhile, that he had taken largely of opium, and would soon die. I assured him that if he could rely upon the word of an Anglo-American of unstained honour, he could consider me as pledged that there was not a soldier under my command who would even do him insult. This declaration had no visible effect in dissipating the uneasiness of the prisoner; and his Aid-de-camp, Colonel Almonte,† finally declared to us that all assurances to him, in his existing condition, would be useless, as his mind was entirely under the control of an overwhelming dread of popular frenzy; that he (Col. Almonte) knew the American character well enough to have full confidence in the assurances which we had given. All this time," continues General Green, "the prisoner lay upon his back, in his berth, and his respiration seemed to be exceedingly difficult. After waiting some minutes longer, I called the surgeon of the Invincible, and requested him to feel the prisoner's pulse, and report his true situation: he complied with my request, and reported his pulse to be perfectly healthful in its vibrations; when I again intimated to the prisoner the necessity of going ashore. He begged twenty minutes' longer respite; upon which, I announced to the Captain that it would be necessary to send forward his master-of-arms, and have him ironed without delay. When the irons were brought within his view, the prisoner immediately jumped up, adjusted his collar, put on his hat, and stated his readiness to accompany us. Upon getting on deck, he saw a sentinel, evinced much agitation, and presented his bosom, evidently believing that he was about to be put to death. I took his arm, desired him to be composed, and conducted him to the Captain's gig-boat, into which we descended and rowed for the shore. On reaching the mouth of the river, Santa Anna took fresh alarm at a body of Texan soldiers, whom he saw collected upon the beach on the Velasco side, and threatened to drown himself if the boat was not pulled over to the Western bank. I explained to him that the soldiers whom he beheld had been drawn together by curiosity alone, and intended no violence; and further suggested, that if he was ambitious of acting the character of *Napoleon* fully, he could do so, by taking the Texan flag, which he would find in the stern of the boat, and calmly waving it in view of the military in token of his respect for the cause which they were pledged to maintain. He took the flag accordingly, and when the boat arrived within about ten paces of the shore, I announced to him that it was time to wave the flag, raising myself at the moment, and giving the word to the crowd, "*three times three!*" when the whole company cheered the prisoner, whilst he attempted tremulously to wave the flag." Santa Anna, being now conducted to President Burnet, was received courteously, and ordered into custody of General Green again, who took him on board the steamer Ocean, "where, (says General Green) "he was treated as hospitably as circumstances allowed." In a few days, General Green was ordered into service against the Indians, and Santa Anna was brought on land again; where he continued to receive such comforts as were to be obtained at the time,* until, upon the application of the President of the United States, he was despatched† to Washington City, and sent thence to Mexico in a national vessel. Here I shall close my notice of Texan concerns for the present;—a single chapter of the work remains to be written, touching the recognition of the new Republic by the Congress of the United States, during the winter of 1836–7.

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* Here I cite the language of General Green's Journal, kindly placed in my hands.

† A rather curious fact is this moment (on the 20th of February, 1841) related to me (in Philadelphia) by a Texan of high character. Colonel Almonte is a *natural* son of *Morales*, one of the Warrior-Priests spoken of in a preceding chapter of this work, as commanding an army during the Mexican Revolutionary struggle. He was at the head of his troops one day, when an infant, (whose birth was thus unceremoniously made known to him,) was brought into his sight by the mother. "Al Monte!" he exclaimed; "*to the mountain* with the brat!" and Almonte was the child named thenceforth;—an incident exceedingly like the one mentioned in the famous song of Dennis Brulgruddery, which runs:

"I was born once at home, when my mother was out,
In her reckoning, an accident brought it about;
As for family honours, and such sort of fun,
Though some boast of *forefathers*, I had but one.
When the christening came on, my poor mother saw
On my face our dog Dennis had just set his paw;—
"What's his name?" says the priest;
"*Down, Dennis!*" says she,
So *Dennis Brulgruddery* they christened me."

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* When in Texas, a curious fact was related to me. Whilst Santa Anna was on land at Velasco, he was confined in a certain house, one of the most comfortable in the town, and a single sentinel was stationed before it to prevent his escape. Reader! who do you suppose was that sentinel? *Richard Bache, Esquire,* formerly well known in the city of Philadelphia, and a grand-son of *Benjamin Franklin.* Strange, that accident should so have arranged matters, that one who lacked nothing but the diadem and name to be a King in this new world of ours, and who as Tyrant did clutch a most bloody *sceptre,* should be held in custody by the descendant of that Republican sage, of whom it has been said, "*Eripuit sceptrum tyrannis.*"

† Before Santa Anna was sent to Washington, he took occasion to issue a very silly and audacious document, which he called a *Protest,* in which he complained, in most vulgar and spiteful terms, of the conduct of the government of Texas towards him, after the treaty with him had been subscribed. That Protest, with the response of President Burnet, will be found hereto annexed:—

[TRANSLATION.]

Office of the Private Secretary of the President of the Republic of Mexico, General-in-Chief of the Army of Operations.

I, Antonio Lopez de S. A., &c., do appear, by means of this solemn document, before the Government, ad interim, of the people of Texas, for the purpose of making known thereby that I am resolved to publish to the civilized world the following Protest:

I protest against the violation of the faith engaged in the agreement made between me and the government of Texas, signed the 14th May ulto., and commenced verbally with the General-in-Chief of the Army of Texas, Samuel Houston, and T. J. Rusk, Secretary at War; wherein the following is stipulated:

[*Here the Treaty of May 14th,* 1836.]

I protest, 1stly. For having been treated more like an ordinary criminal than as a prisoner of war, the Head of a respectable Nation, even after the agreement had been commenced.

I protest 2dly. For the treatment as prisoner of war, and ill usage received by the Mexican General, Adrian Wall, who had come into the Texan Camp with a flag of truce, under the safeguard and word of honour of General Houston, and with the consent of the Members of the Cabinet.

I protest in the third place, against the non-fulfilment of the exchange of prisoners, stipulated in the 9th Article, inasmuch as up to the present time not one even, Mexican prisoner of war, has been set at liberty, notwithstanding the liberty given to all the Texans in possession of the army under my command.

4thly. Because the "*sine qua non*" of the 10th Article, as follows, has not been carried into effect; which is, "that I shall be sent to Vera Cruz when the Government shall deem it proper;" whereas the President himself, and the Cabinet of Texas, being convinced that I had punctually fulfilled all my engagements, viz: that the Mexican Army, 4000 strong, should retreat from the position it occupied on the Brassos to beyond "Rio Grande;" that all the property should be given up, also the prisoners of war,—had determined on my embarkation on the Texan schooner of war, the Invincible; in which I finally did embark on the 1st June, instant, after addressing a short farewell to the Texans, wherein I thanked them for their generous behaviour, and offered my eternal gratitude.

5thly. For the act of violence committed on my person, and abuse to which I have been exposed, in compelling me to come ashore, on the 4th instant, merely because 130 volunteers, under the command of General Thomas J. Green, recently landed on the beach at Velasco from New Orleans, had, with tumult and with threats, requested that my person should be placed at their disposal; which took place on the very day that the Government received from General Filisola the answer that he had strictly fulfilled, that which had been agreed upon.

I repeat that I protest against the President and Cabinet's condescension in issuing their orders for that measure, thereby making a show of me before those men, as in former times was done with the Chiefs of conquered nations, considering them as trophies of their victories; with this difference, that in my case a solemn treaty already existed.

Finally, I protest against the violence kept up towards me by being placed in a narrow prison, surrounded with sentinels, and suffering all the privations which absolutely render life insupportable, or tend to hasten death; and finally, for being uncertain in regard to my future fate and that of the other prisoners, notwithstanding a solemn treaty.

Under these circumstances I appeal to the judgment of civilized nations, to the consciences of the citizens who compose the Cabinet, and above all to the Supreme Ruler of the destinies of nations, who has placed the existence and happiness of nations on the faith of treaties, and punctual fulfilment of engagements.

God and Liberty, 9th June, 1836.

(Signed) Anto. Lopez de Santa Anna.

His Excellency, President David G. Burnet."

"Executive Department, Velasco, 10th June, 1836.

To His Excellency,

The President General, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna:

Excellent Sir,—Your communication of the 9th instant, purporting to be a protest, to be published to the civilized world, has been presented to me.

The Government of Texas cheerfully recognize in your Excellency the right to make known to the world every grievance and injustice that you may have experienced at their hands. I admit that this Government has been constrained, by the influence of a highly excited popular indignation, to deviate for a season from the terms of that article of the Treaty, made between this Government and your Excellency, which relates to your transportation to Vera Cruz. And in making this admission I profess a profound mortification; for it does not belong to the spirit of this Government to make even a slight deviation from its solemn engagements. But the causes that have produced the constraint under which the Government have acted, are not unknown to you, and I should regret to believe that you were incapable of giving to them a just appreciation. The citizens and the citizen soldiers of Texas have felt, and do feel, a deep, intense, and righteous indignation at the many atrocities which have been perpetrated by the troops lately under your Excellency's command; and especially at the barbarous massacre of the brave Colonel Fannin and his gallant companions. How far your Excellency participated in that abominable and inglorious slaughter, I am not disposed to conjecture, but it is both natural and true that the people of Texas impute it to your Excellency's special command.

When the Government of Texas solemnized the Treaty of the 14th ultimo, with your Excellency, they did it in good faith, and they intended religiously to observe every stipulation of that Treaty. Your embarkation on board the armed schooner Invincible, was an effect of that intention, but your Excellency has had too much experience in the waywardness of popular excitements not to *feel* the necessity which prompted your subsequent debarkation, and the postponement of your stipulated departure.

Your Excellency protests, "1stly. For having been treated more like an ordinary criminal than as a prisoner of war, the head of a respectable nation, even after the agreement had been commenced."

I do not precisely comprehend the character of the treatment objected to, and would have been pleased to have had the specifications. If your Excellency alludes to the accommodations which have been assigned to you, I would reply that I have cheerfully subjected my own sick family to many hardships in order to render to your Excellency the best accommodations in our power. That we are at present destitute of the ordinary comforts of life, is mainly attributable to your Excellency's recent visit to our new country, and on this account we feel less regret that you should partake of our privations.

Your second protest relating to the treatment experienced by the Mexican General, Adrian Wall, involves some facts which I do sincerely deplore, but for which this government is not strictly responsible. Your Excellency is sensible that we have done all in our power to guaranty the safe return of Gen'l. Wall to the Mexican camp. But our orders have been contravened by the Commander of the Texan Army, at a remote distance from the seat of government. The reasons that have actuated that officer have not been fully detailed to us, but we are informed that they are predicated on some alleged imprudences of Gen'l. Wall, whose discretion we know has not been very conspicuously manifested during his stay amongst us.

The third article of your protest is "against the non-fulfilment of the exchange of prisoners, stipulated in the ninth article, inasmuch as up to the present time, not one Mexican prisoner of war has been set at liberty, notwithstanding the liberty given to all the Texans in possession of the army under my command."

Your Excellency seems to have a more minute intelligence on this subject than has come to my knowledge, for I have no official information of a single Texan prisoner having been given up under the treaty. Some of the intended victims, the companions of the murdered Fannin, have happily effected their escape, and safely arrived amongst us; but these cannot be considered as liberated, in the sense of the treaty.—Whereas this government has gratuitously discharged several Mexican captives, and defrayed their expenses to New Orleans, the destination which they solicited.

The fourth clause of your Excellency's Protest has been antecedently answered in part. Your Excellency's recollection has betrayed you into one error when you say, "the President himself, and the Cabinet of Texas, being convinced that I had punctually fulfilled all my engagements, &c." This government were convinced that your Excellency had complied with some of your stipulations, and this conviction aggravates the mortification which the late events have inflicted upon them. But they were not informed that "all the property had been given up," or that any of the prisoners had been restored, as your Excellency erroneously imagines. On the contrary, we were advised that large herds of cattle had been driven in advance of the retreating army, and that a few only of the soldiers that had been abducted, were returned. It is due to your Excellency to say that the government confidently believed these restorations would be effected as early as a proper convenience would admit. But I am induced to advert to another fact, in relation to which it would be difficult to extend the same charitable exculpation to the officers of the Mexican army. It has been reported that the walls of the *Alamo*, at Bexar, have been prostrated, and that the valuable brass artillery attached to that fortress, have been melted down and destroyed. There were many painful, and pleasing, and glorious reminiscences connected with that Alamo, which render its wanton dilapidation peculiarly odious to every Texan spirit; and your Excellency needs not to be informed that the destruction of it was an infraction of the armistice and a violation of the treaty.

In reply to your Excellency's fifth protestation, I remark, that the painful circumstances which induced the government to direct your debarkation on the fourth instant, have already been adverted to in a spirit of frankness and of self-humiliation which a consciousness of error alone could extort. It were superfluous to repeat the causes which induced this government to vary its discretion in regard to the time they should deem the departure of your Excellency to be proper. I am not sensible of any "act of violence and abuse" to which you were exposed, that was not necessarily concomitant with your return to shore. Your Excellency has acquired too great a celebrity in Texas not to be an object of curiosity with the multitude; but I believe you will bear testimony to the magnanimity which restrained a tumultuous and highly exasperated crowd, from offering any indignity to your person. If such outrage had been committed, it would have been promptly chastised. "The President and Cabinet" entertained no intention of "making a show" of your Excellency, whose condition as a prisoner has invariably commanded their highest veneration, and towards whom they have exhibited every attention that was compatible with their official duties, and within their power to bestow.

Your Excellency's final denunciation is probably the result of excited feeling. While you are detained as a prisoner, it is inevitable that the ordinary precautions must be observed. I am not apprised that more than this has been done. Your Excellency is not ignorant that the members of this government are remote from their own homes, and are very indifferently accommodated—that the seat of government is not permanently located, and therefore no public buildings have been erected. To these facts you will find no difficulty in attributing your being placed in "a narrow prison"—and your Excellency knows that the room you occupied is more commodious than that which constitutes both my office and my own family habitation. It is vividly fresh in my recollection that about two months ago, the best accommodations this new government has enjoyed, were broken up when the army under your Excellency's immediate command conflagrated the Town of Harrisburg.

With high consideration, I am

Your ob't. serv't.

David G. Burnet."

CHAPTER IX.

Appointment of a special Commissioner by the United States to examine into the condition and prospects of Texas. President Jackson's message of December 5th, 1835. Special message of December 22d of the same year. Introduction of the proposition to recognise Texas as an Independent Nation, by Mr. Walker, of Missisippi, in the Senate of the United States: Mr. Walker's speech. *Texas recognised.* General Waddy Thompson's amendment offered in the House of Representatives: his speech. Conclusion of the chapter.

In conformity with the plan of these volumes as heretofore indicated, it becomes now my duty to bring to the view of the reader the recognition of Texas as a free, sovereign, and independent Republic, by the government of the United States;—a transaction concerning which it is known that there was, at one period, some slight contrariety of sentiment in different parts of the Union, but which is beginning now to be regarded by all intelligent and liberal minds as one of the most honourable occurrences that has marked our own history as a Nation. More than eighteen months had elapsed after the decisive battle of San Jacinto, before the government of the United States took this important step, and the action finally adopted was based upon much scrutiny, and the most conclusive evidence as to the capability of the Texan Republic to maintain the independent attitude which she had assumed. Since the month of April, 1836, no hostile Mexican had been seen within the limits of Texas; civil government had been organized in all its departments; thousands on thousands of emigrants had poured into this Paradise, from all parts of the world; towns and villages had sprung into existence almost as if by magic; commerce had assumed a character both active and regular; schools, of various grades, were in a course of rapid establishment; and peace, order, and happiness, were beginning to assert their mild dominion throughout the territorial limits of the single-starred Republic. Congress had, at a previous session, adopted a resolution declaring "that the Independence of Texas ought to be acknowledged whenever satisfactory information should be received that it had, in successful operation, a civil government capable of performing the duties and fulfilling the obligations of an Independent power." During the summer of 1836, a confidential agent, (Mr. Morfitt,) had been despatched to Texas by the President, who had elaborately explored the condition of Texas in every respect, and had reported in the most favourable manner. There would certainly have been nothing to censure in an immediate recognition upon the reception of this Report; *but* the President resolved to proceed with extreme caution, for certain delicate reasons disclosed in his annual Message of December 5th, 1836; in which, referring to the unfriendly relations then existing between the United States and Mexico, growing out of irritation on the part of the latter power, on account of a suspected interference of the United States and her citizens in the Texan struggle, he said: "It is already known to you, by the correspondence between the two governments communicated at your last session, that our conduct in relation to that struggle is regulated by the same principles that governed us in the dispute between Spain and Mexico herself; and I trust that it will be found, on the most severe scrutiny, that our acts have strictly corresponded with our professions. That the inhabitants of the United States should feel strong prepossessions for the one party, is not surprising. But this circumstance should, of itself, teach us great caution, lest it lead us into the great error of suffering public policy to be regulated by partiality or prejudice; and there are considerations connected with the possible result of this contest between the two parties of so much delicacy and importance to the United States, that our character requires that we should neither anticipate events, nor attempt to control them. The known desire of the Texans to become a part of our system, although its gratification depends upon the reconcilement of various and conflicting interests, necessarily a work of time, and uncertain in itself, is calculated to expose our conduct to misconstruction in the eyes of the world. There are already those who, indifferent to principle themselves, and prone to suspect the want of it in others, charge us with ambitious designs and invidious policy. * * * * The result of the confidential inquiries made into the condition and prospects of the newly-declared Texan government, will be communicated to you in the course of the session." On the 22d of the same month, (December,) the President addressed a special Message to Congress on this subject, in which he announces that "no steps have been taken by the Executive towards an acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas;" discusses the question of recognition at considerable length; and, after expressing his own opinion that it would be *impolitic* yet to recognize, acquiesces in what he supposes to be the opinion of Congress, that "the expediency of recognizing the Independence of Texas" was a matter proper to be left for the decision of

Congress itself. "In this view," says the President, "on the ground of expediency, I am disposed to concur; and do not, therefore, consider it necessary to express any opinion as to the strict Constitutional right of the Executive, either apart, or in conjunction with the Senate, on this subject. It is to be presumed, that on no future occasion will a dispute arise, as none has heretofore occurred, between the Executive and Legislature, in the exercise of the power of recognition. It will always be considered consistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and most safe, that it should be exercised when probably leading to war, with a previous understanding with that body by whom war can alone be declared, and by whom all the provisions for sustaining its perils must be furnished. Its submission to Congress, which represents, in one of its branches, the States of this Union, and in the other, the people of the United States, where there would be reasonable ground to apprehend so grave a consequence, would certainly afford the fullest satisfaction to our own country, and a perfect guarantee to all other nations, of the justice and prudence of the measures which might be adopted." After again declaring his own individual judgment to be adverse to immediate recognition, the President refers to the prospect of Texas being re-invaded by Mexico, and says: "Upon the issue of this threatened invasion, the Independence of Texas may be considered as suspended; and, were there nothing peculiar in the relative situation of the United States and Texas, our acknowledgment of its Independence at such a crisis, could scarcely be regarded as consistent with that prudent reserve with which we have heretofore held ourselves bound to treat all similar questions. But there are circumstances in the relations of the two countries, which require us to act, on this occasion, with even more than our wonted caution. Texas was once claimed as a part of our property, and there are those among our citizens, who, always reluctant to abandon that claim, cannot but regard with solicitude the prospect of the re-union of the territory to this country; a large proportion of its civilized inhabitants are emigrants from the United States, speak the same language with ourselves, cherish the same principles, political and religious, and are bound to many of our citizens by ties of friendship and kindred blood; and, more than all, it is known that the people of that country have instituted the same form of government with our own, and have, since the close of your last session, openly resolved, on the acknowledgment by us of their Independence, to seek admission into the Union, as one of the Federal States. This last circumstance is a matter of peculiar delicacy, and forces upon us considerations of the gravest character. The title of Texas to the territory she claims is identified with her Independence; she asks us to acknowledge that title to the territory, with an avowed design to treat immediately of its transfer to the United States. It becomes us to beware of a too-early movement, as it might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbours to a territory, with a view to its subsequent acquisition by ourselves. Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate that we should still stand aloof, and maintain our present attitude, if not until Mexico itself, or one of the great foreign powers, shall recognize the Independence of the new Government, at least until the lapse of time or the course of events shall have proved, beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, and to uphold the government constituted by them. Neither of the contending parties can possibly object to this course. By pursuing it, we are but carrying out the long-established policy of our Government—a policy which has secured to us respect and influence abroad, and inspired confidence at home."

Thus was the question left open for future decision, and several weeks elapsed before any farther movement was made, at least in a public form, by the Government functionaries in Washington. In the mean time, though, much conversation ensued between members of both Houses of Congress on this interesting subject; many high-spirited journals spoke boldly forth in favour of the instant recognition of Texas; and all the honest arts of conciliation were put in exercise by various individuals, for the purpose of quickening the action of the government in behalf of our Anglo-American brethren beyond the Sabine. I shall neither undertake to censure or applaud the extraordinary caution and delicacy displayed by the President, which were doubtless much increased by the fact that he was himself a *Southerner* by residence, and was liable on that account to be suspected of arranging in this affair for the aggrandizement of the South and West, to the political injury of other sections of the Union. Nor need I state, what is very well known to be true, that the individual sentiments of General Jackson were much more favourable to Texas than would be probably inferred from the circumspect phraseology of his message. It is certain that what did finally occur on this subject, in both houses of Congress, was not the result of *party arrangement;* and that various party leaders, on either side, were reluctant to assume the responsibility of taking a decided stand for recognition.

Greatly to the honour of the State of Mississippi, she was represented in the National Senate at the time, in part, by a gentleman who has several times shown himself capable of seeking guidance from his own sound judgment and noble feelings more than from mere party considerations—the Honourable Robert J. Walker — who, on the 12th day of January, 1837, introduced in the Senate the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the State of Texas, having established and maintained an independent Government, is capable of performing those duties, foreign and domestic, which appertain to Independent Governments; and it appearing that there is no longer any reasonable prospect of the successful prosecution of the war by Mexico against said State, it is expedient and proper, and in conformity with the laws of Nations, and the practice of this Government in like cases, that the independent political existence of that State be acknowledged by the Government of the United States."

This resolution, on motion of Mr. Walker, was postponed, and made the order of the day for the 18th of January. This gentleman made several ineffectual attempts to have his resolution brought up for the final action of the Senate. There was most evidently a want of information in Congress as to the true nature of the claim of Texas to recognition at their hands, and doubtless to some slight extent sentiments of local jealousy operated as an obstruction to the passage of the recognizing resolution. Finally, on the first day of March, the resolution was adopted by the following vote:

Yeas,.............................	23
Nays, ...	19

Those who voted in the affirmative were Messrs. Bayard, Benton, Black, Calhoun, Cuthbert, Ewing of Illinois, Fulton, Grundy, Hendricks, Linn, Moore, Mouton, Niles, Potter, Preston, Rives, Robinson, Ruggles, Sevier, Spence, Strange, Walker, White.

Those who voted in the negative were, Messrs. Brown, Buchanan, Clayton, Davis, Hubbard, King of Alabama, King of Georgia, Knight, Morris, Nicholas, Norvell, Page, Prentiss, Swift, Tallmadge, Tipton, Tomlinson, Wall, Wright.

The debate which occurred upon the resolution was truly a brilliant one; and Mr. Walker found himself aided in the high task which he had undertaken, by Mr. Preston and Mr. Crittenden, both of whom were unusually eloquent; whilst Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun also, each spoke briefly but zealously in behalf of Texas and the Texans. I chanced to be a delighted auditor of this discussion, and shall not soon forget that I heard Mr. Clay proclaim his opinion, that the Constitution of Texas was, as a whole, superior to that of the United States,—particularising several defects in our Federal Constitution which experience has proved to exist, and which have in Texas been avoided. The volume of Senatorial debates that has been placed in my hands, contains only one of the speeches delivered on this occasion, and that happens to be the speech pronounced by the mover* of the resolution. The reader will not be displeased at having here afforded to him an opportunity of reading it.

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* I will here take occasion to mention what I know to be a fact, that though the course pursued by Mr. Walker was in a great degree the result of a disinterested devotion to free principles, and was entirely in unison with his particular cast of mind, yet his sympathies for the Texans were more lively in consequence of some peculiar circumstances which were then of recent occurrence. His only brother, Duncan Walker, Esq., commonly known as Judge Walker, had fallen a victim to the Texan struggle for Independence. Judge Walker had been for many years a conspicuous member of the bar in the State of Mississippi; had accumulated a large fortune, and had attained the highest honours of his profession; was beloved and admired by all who knew him;—when he resolved, for the benefit of his health, to visit Texas in the summer of 1834. He was delighted with the climate and soil, found his health greatly ameliorated, and resolved to settle for life somewhere in the neighbourhood of the San Antonio River. He visited the city of Mexico for the gratification of a natural curiosity in regard to that ancient and renowned place, and chanced to be there during the progress of General Austin's troubles in that Capital. He hurried on towards Texas in order to put the country upon its guard against the invasion of its territories which he ascertained was about to take place, and, falling under suspicion of the Mexican authorities upon the way, was apprehended and thrown into prison; where he lingered for several months, long enough to contract the fatal distemper which soon after hurried him to the grave. I saw Judge Walker in the State of Mississippi afterwards, and so ardent was his zeal in behalf of his adopted country, and so strong his abhorrence of the despotic conduct of the Mexican Government towards the Anglo-Americans in that region, that it was impossible for any one to be with him ten minutes without catching something of the lofty enthusiasm which blazed forth in his conversation on this topic. How his soul would have rejoiced in the glorious results that have subsequently ensued!

There are one or two particulars connected with this same act of re-

"Mr. Walker said that no one could be more conscious than he that it would be unpardonable to take up the time of the Senate unnecessarily, at such an hour of the session, and he should therefore be as brief

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cognition which those will not be displeased to see noticed here, who have read with a just appreciation the last beautiful effusion of Mr. Cooper's genius; and it is believed, that if the famed author of *Mercedes* shall deign to glance over these humble pages of an obscure writer from the far West, he will find, and rejoice to find, that an instance has occurred in our own day and generation, in real life, of the salutary influence of female mind in great affairs of State, not less interesting than the one which in Spanish annals has drawn its chief lustre and attractiveness from his own glowing and elegant fancy. Senator Walker has had the happiness, for some years past, of being allied in marriage with a lady who claims descent from the renowned American sage, of whose "quiet memory" the first of British poets has said, that it

> "Climbs to heaven,
> Calming the lightning which it thence has riven,
> Or drawing from the no less kindled earth,
> Freedom and peace to that which boasts his birth."

Mrs. Walker is in the habit of attending her husband to Washington City; and whilst there has been fortunate enough to enjoy the society of an early and favourite school-mate, a lady not inferior to herself in the graces of mind and person, and in whose soul burns and breathes the pure and lofty spirit of her illustrious grandfather, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. That friend of Mrs. Walker, (like herself,) beholds in her husband a distinguished Senator of the United States. Now it is said, that the claims of Texas to recognition had not, when the question first arose on Mr. Walker's resolution, been thoroughly examined by Mr. Bayard, in consequence of his entire absorption in other business of moment. It is farther said, that the fair descendant of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, hearing from the eloquent lips of her friend Mrs. Walker, for the first time, the affecting story of Texan wrongs, became filled with the liveliest sympathy in favour of the heroic strugglers for Freedom in the far South-West, and communicating something of her own generous ardour to her husband, is entitled to a portion of the honour which Mr. Bayard may justly challenge as a zealous and efficient friend of Texas and the Texans, at this important juncture. I certainly should be grieved to find out that there is the least mistake in relation to the facts just narrated, and hope long to cherish the agreeable conviction that the young Republic whose history I have been endeavouring to draw up, owes, in part, her first recognition as an Independent Nation to the female posterity of the only two signers of the American Declaration of Independence, whom Lord Brougham, on a recent occasion, seems to have judged worthy of his elaborate notice as a writer of Classical Biography.

as possible in the remarks with which he deemed it his duty to accompany the resolution he had had the honour to submit. He should confine himself strictly to those points which it was necessary to touch, with-

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A more suitable place will scarcely offer for the presentation of the following interesting correspondence between Mr. Walker and the Texan Ministers at Washington, three days after the adoption in the United States Senate, of the *recognition Resolution*. I will here mention, that a correspondence of a similar nature took place at the same time between Messrs. Hunt and Wharton, and Col. Preston, the distinguished South Carolina Senator, which would be here exhibited but for the fact that it is at this moment in the State of South Carolina. Perhaps it is well enough to state, also, that Col. Preston's *portrait* was taken instead of the *bust* in the case of Mr. Walker, and I learn that both these tokens of a Nation's gratitude will be seen shortly to adorn the Texan Capitol.

"Texan Legation, Washington, March 4th, 1837.

Dear Sir,—We will not do injustice to our feelings by attempting to express the gratitude which we so deeply feel for your noble exertions in the cause of Independent Texas. Nor will we offend you by more than alluding to that generous love of liberty, which dictated your early vindication of our claims to an immediate recognition by the Senate of the United States, and the enduring spirit of perseverance, which, under so many difficulties and adverse inferences, still prosecuted the great object to its final accomplishment. We have but one more favour to desire of you — that you will permit us to obtain your bust, in marble, to be placed in the Capitol of our nation, in order that our present and future population may be enabled to behold the image of one of her earliest and most ardent benefactors.

With the highest and most grateful consideration we have the honour to be

Yours, &c.

(Signed) MEMUCAN HUNT,
WM. H. WHARTON.

Hon. R. J. Walker."

out indulging in a train of remarks to which they would very naturally lead, and which at another time, and under different circumstances, might with propriety be made.

(REPLY.)

"Washington City, March 4th, 1837.

"Gentlemen,—I have received your communication of this date, requesting, on behalf of the Independent Republic of Texas, permission to have my bust taken, in marble, to be placed in the Capitol of your nation. In my own name, and for my poor services, I could never accept your proposition. It was as a representative of the wishes of the people of Mississippi, that I moved and advocated, in consonance with my own feelings and judgment, the recognition of your Independence. My humble name must soon be forgotten as connected with this or any other transaction; but may it long be remembered, that it was a Representative of the State of Mississippi, who, in the hour of your deepest gloom and danger, predicted your success, when not a voice in either House of Congress had been raised in your behalf, and who afterwards moved the resolution, adopted by the American Senate, recognizing the Independence of Texas. For my State then, and not for myself, in her name, and as one of her Senators, I accept your offer.

Let me join you in congratulations upon the glorious event of the recognition of your National Independence, an event with which your names must ever be proudly associated as the future Franklins of Texas; for I know, that without your zealous aid and co-operation, Texas must yet have remained unrecognized. I marked with many a rising hope and ebbing fear, your trembling solicitude, and I beheld the overflowing joy with which your bosoms throbbed, when my country first inscribed the name of Texas upon the roll of independent nations. It was done, and you have more than witnessed the birth of a new Republic, the only one worthy the name, except our own Confederacy.

In the first place, he would call the attention of the Senate to the position in which Texas had been placed by the action of Congress at the last session. After considerable discussion at that time, the subject had been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, who had reported to the Senate a resolution declaring that the Independence of Texas ought to be recognized as soon as authentic information should have been received, by the Executive, that it was possessed of a civil Government, and was capable of assuming the responsibilities and discharging the duties of an independent Power. This resolution had been deliberately and with perfect unanimity agreed to by the Senate, the yeas being 39, and the nays none. The same resolution had been agreed to in the House of Representatives, by a vote of 128 to 20. It was, therefore, the opinion of this Government, at that time, that the Independence of Texas ought to be acknowledged so soon as the information referred to should have been received. This (said Mr. W.) renders it unnecessary for me to go into the merits of the difficulty between Mexico and Texas; that resolution put the question on the proof of a fact. It is now, therefore, a mere question of fact; and as such I shall treat it.

Your star is now beaming in all the brightness of new-born Liberty. The history of your struggle is a history of a series of actions of commingled valour and clemency, worthy your glorious parentage, unrivalled in moral sublimity, and which exalt and dignify the character of man. You are the child of our free institutions, the first-born of that race which will carry onward and onward still, our language, laws, and liberty, throughout our own America. Go on, patriotic Americans — go on, my countrymen, for such I must call you, — go on, noble and glorious people, and may the great Disposer of the destiny of nations, so order the course of events, that the single luminary, which now shines from your country's standard, may break forth a constellation of lights, burning and beaming with our own kindred stars, in perpetual brightness, from the banner of the American Union.

With the deepest regard and consideration, I am

Yours most truly,

R. J. Walker.

Gen. Memucan Hunt, } Ministers Plenipotentiary from
Col. Wm. H. Wharton, } the Republic of Texas."

Let me call the attention of the Senate to the origin of the existing state of things in that country. After the downfall of Iturbide, a republican constitution was put in operation in the Mexican confederacy, and Texas, as one of the members of that confederacy, was included under it. A colonization law was passed, which invited persons from all parts of the globe to come and partake of the privileges of citizenship in this new Republic, especially the inhabitants of the United States. In the preamble to that law it was given as a reason for passing it, that it was very important to secure the frontiers of Mexico against the irruptions and ravages of the savage tribes in the vicinity. It was, therefore, for the advantage and benefit of Mexico herself that foreigners should enter the territory; and they did so, under the most solemn guarantees of civil and religious liberty. They went there in the faith of these assurances; they conquered the wilderness; and they expelled the Indians, and drove them to a great distance from their settlements. In process of time they became a State, and elected a Legislature. But what was then done by Mexico? By the audacity of a military dictator, the free constitution of that Republic was subverted, and the Congress, who represented the people, and sat by their authority, was, by force of arms, turned out of doors. Another Legislature was set up in their place by the dictator, consisting of a single House, and prepared to comply with whatever might be his pleasure. The people of Texas resisted this usurpation; but they were not alone in withstanding it. The banner of Freedom was raised at the same time by the people of Zacatecas, who inherited the same noble blood. They were, however, overthrown in the contest, and consequently removed to Texas. After the Congress had been forcibly turned out of doors, a proclamation was issued, ordering the disarming of the population, and requiring an unqualified submission, on their part, to a military despotism. They resisted the enforcement of this order—and never would I have uttered a word in favour of their recognition if they had not. Had they tamely submitted to such an act of oppression, they would have been unworthy of the name of Americans. Had they bowed their necks to the yoke, and submissively yielded up their limbs to the chain, I would never have voted to welcome them among the nations of the free. Suppose the President of these United States should enter the halls of Congress, seize our persons, and drive us from our seats, and occupy them with his creatures; suppose he should then send out a band of mercenaries into Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, should disarm our citizens, and demand of them, with threats, an unqualified submission to his absolute will; I ask whether there lives a man so abject as not to resist? No. I know, all men know, that the people of those States would maintain their freedom, or perish in the struggle. The citizens of Texas have done just what would have been done, in the like case, by citizens of the United States. We did so in circumstances far less intolerable. The colonial oppression of the Government of Great Britain was mild, was paternal, in comparison with the despotism that was sought to be fixed on the necks of the citizens of Texas. Their resistance of it was justified by all laws, human and divine.

The next question is, whether, having resolved on Independence, they have been able to maintain it.

What have we seen? We have seen two successive invasions of their territory, and both successfully resisted. The first was under General Cos; he was taken prisoner, and liberated on parole. Then came the enterprise of Santa Anna, who entered Texas at the head of eight thousand fine troops, the *élite* of the Mexican army. After the conquest of Goliad, and the sanguinary battle of the Alamo, he was overthrown by a handfull of Texan troops under General Houston, and remained a captive in the hands of those whose friends and relatives he had treacherously and inhumanly murdered. This happened twelve months ago, and yet no hostile foot has trodden the Texan soil, nor has a hostile fleet appeared on its shores. Their army has complete possession of the seaports and of all the interior; nor has any attempt been made by the Mexican forces to rescue their favourite chief or to redeem their honor.. Why? Has not sufficient time elapsed? How much longer must we wait? For twelve months more! Or till Mexico shall recognise their Independence? Or do not justice and truth demand that we should, without further delay, admit the fact of their Independence? What greater evidence of it do we ask? They possess the entire territory; the laws are regularly administered; the Congress which enacts them have met twice; and all things are as peaceful and orderly as within our own happy and favoured Republic. What, then, is the question of recognition? It is a question of fact. We must answer yes or no—either that Texas is independent, or that it is still a part of Mexico. Are Congress prepared to spread such an untruth upon their records? Would you now negotiate with Mexico on the ground that Texas constitutes a part of that country? Here let me call the attention of the Senate to one important fact, viz: that the present central Government of Mexico never has exercised any authority whatever in Texas. No, not for an hour. It is a despotism which she has resisted; she has never for a moment obeyed it. Why should we refuse to acknowledge what is true? We have been told by the President that another invasion is threatened by Mexico. True. But are we to be governed by threats? Are threats to constitute a reason why we may not recognise the Independence of a revolted province which has maintained its freedom? If so, then we should never have recognised the Independence of Mexico; for she has, so late as within three years past, been threatened by Spain. No; the question does not depend on threats, but on the actual state of things. If the vapouring of Mexico is to settle this matter, I hope we shall first examine how far she is able to carry her threats into execution. To show her utter inability to do this, I will call the attention of the Senate to her divided condition, torn as she is by intestine broils and civil convulsions. So entirely has she been disabled by this her condition from carrying a war of conquest into a neighbouring territory, that she is scarce able to maintain the authority of Government within her own limits. Her internal state exhibits one scene of unceasing civil convulsion. Insurrections rise, one after another, in a constant succession, till her streets run down with the blood of her citizens, Governors, members of Congress, and Presidents. But one of her Chief Magistrates has retired peaceably from the chair of state. Iturbide was Emperor; but what was his fate? His glory ended in banishment; which having broken, he was seized and publicly executed. Victoria was President; his career also ended in banishment. His successor was deposed by a military force, and Guerero was placed in power. And how did he prosper? Being self-deposed, he was put to death. Then came Bustamente. And had he peace? No; he was deposed by Santa Anna. Santa Anna was put down by the Federal party; but, afterwards triumphing over his enemies, he overturned the constitution, and established a military despotism. This was soon followed by a rebellion in Zacatecas, a revolution in Texas, and commotions in Tampico and both the Californias. And, after all this, we are told that Texas is threatened by the Mexican Government! It is the threat of a child against a giant. Mexico is not able to recover her dominion; if she had been, she would before now have attempted the liberation of her captured President. When the news of his capture was received, Mexico issued a proclamation, from the language of which a stranger would conclude that she had one hundred thousand troops at her disposal. But what has she done? She has raised a petty, contemptible, half-clad collection of vagabonds, under Bravo, and sent them to Saltillo. They were always on the point of dissolution. Two thousand out of the three thousand which set out reluctantly on the expedition have already gone; the rest are without money or clothing; and Bravo has resigned in disgust. If, then, the true question of the fact of Texan Independence was suspended on the success of this invasion of Bravo's, is it not settled? Has not the threatened invasion failed? Where is the difference whether the expedition has been discomfited without the limits of the Texan territory or within them? What matters it whether the invading army has been defeated by capture, by victory, or by inability to march? Let every Senator lay his hand upon his heart and say whether he does in truth believe that Mexico is able successfully to invade the Texan Republic. If not, will you hesitate in spreading the truth upon the records of the Senate?

But it has been intimated that we ought, in prudence, to wait till some foreign Power shall have gone before us, and shown us the way. It is a sufficient answer to refer the Senate to the words of their own resolution. What! shall an American Senate, shall an American Congress, wait and ask if any foreign Power has acknowledged the Independence of the new State upon her border? It is a question of national sovereignty, and we cannot dodge it without national dishonour. Would England or France, in a like case, wait to ask us? Would they wait our movements? Would they not feel themselves disgraced by the mention of such a thing? What! leave the decision whether they shall or shall not recognise a rising State in Europe to the decision of an American Congress? Can we, then, be so lost to honour as to pursue a course which they would despise? Do we want their authority, the shield of their precedence, before we dare to acknowledge the Independence of a new State in our own America—upon this our own continent—a State upon our borders—a State filled with our own citizens? No. This is purely an American question. And shall we refer it to the potentates of Europe? I cannot but say that, as an American Senator, I feel myself somewhat degraded by the mere suggestion. Are we to ask of the Powers of Europe how we are to conduct our foreign relations? Why any more than our domestic? Recognition is the mere admission of a fact, and one which we must decide upon our own judgment, and not on that of any European monarch.

But we are told in the public prints that a vote has been taken in Texas on the question of annexing that State to these United States. I am not to be driven into that matter now. It is a totally distinct question. The two must not be mixed up; they are wholly separate. The one does not follow from the other; and you have no right to connect them together. They are not connected either in fact or in law. Shall this Senate adopt the principle, that though there may, in fact, be an independent Government in Texas, we must refuse to recognise it, because the people who conquered Texas are in fact Americans, the descendants of a glorious ancestry—our own children—who have carried our language, our laws, our free institutions, and our pure religion, into that fertile soil? Are we prepared to give this as a reason to the civilized world? that we cannot recognise them because they love their native soil, because they had left it and gone into another State, under a solemn guarantee that they should still live under a free Government? Because in this hope they have resisted oppression and expelled all invaders? Because, when they have established their Independence, they are unambitious? Because they are ready to lay all their laurels at the feet of the mother Republic? Is this the ground we are ready to take and to avow? Because they love their mother, shall we hate them? No. We must have better grounds than this to show. If they had sought to repose upon the mighty arm of England, and had offered her a treaty of free trade; if she had sought to become a Southern Canada, then I suppose we should hasten to acknowledge her; but because she has sought another connection, because she is ambitious that the banner of this Union shall float over her, and seeks to have a share in the blessings of our laws and our institutions, shall we on this account refuse to do her justice? Yet I have heard no other ground taken, no better argument advanced.

Were it in order, I would refer to another resolution, adopted by a different body, and which leaves the question to the President of the United States. I ask the Senate, will they now avoid the question, and remain silent? I have the highest confidence in the President elect, as well as in him who still fills the Presidential chair, and have no doubt that right will be done; but still it becomes us to express our opinion, as a branch of this Government. We might as well turn over to the President our domestic relations as to leave him the sole judge of all that belongs to our foreign. The resolutions passed by both Houses assume that Congress should take the responsibility of this matter upon itself. And shall we now skulk from it? shall we trust a question which belongs to us to the decision of the President? Does not the President himself say, in his message, that it is inexpedient that the Executive alone should act in a matter of this character? Does he not declare it to be the duty of Congress to judge of it? We have the facts of the case before us. [Here Mr. W. went into a recapitulation of the chief points he had made.] With all these things before us, we are called to vote down the resolution, and thereby to say that these are not facts. Can any gentleman consent to do so? Will any man lay his hand upon his heart and say that Mexico still retains and exercises sovereign power over the province of Texas? I cannot bring myself to believe that such will be the decision of the Senate. No; with all those feelings which are natural to honourable men, to American freemen, I trust we shall come up to the mark, and declare what we know to be the fact, that Texas is an independent and sovereign State."

Whilst the question of recognition was under discussion in the Senate, a movement took place in the House of Representatives which was highly serviceable in forwarding the final decision of the Government. The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill was under consideration in Committee of the Whole, when General Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, moved to amend the same by inserting, "For the salary and outfit of a diplomatic agent, to be forthwith sent to the Independent Government of Texas, —— thousand dollars; 'For the expenses of running a boundary line between the United States and the Independent Government of Texas, —— thousand dollars; such line to be run by Commissioners to be appointed by the United States and the Republic of Texas.'"

It was most obvious that the adoption of this amendment would be equivalent to a regular act of recognition; and it is, perhaps, not strange that, suddenly introduced as it was, it should have encountered much opposition in various quarters, and have been finally defeated in the Committee. But General Thompson is not a man who ever stops half way in a cause of whose merits his own mind is fully persuaded; and in the House he again introduced the rejected amendment, and with the co-operation of several efficient associates in debate, procured its ultimate adoption by a vote of 121 to 76. The discussion which this amendment elicited, both in Committee of the Whole, and afterwards in the House, was very animated; and some half dozen of the speeches delivered on the occasion would well reward the examination of those who are admirers of true eloquence. I have here, however, only room for the address of General Thompson, who spoke as follows:

"Mr. W. Thompson said, no one could regret more than he did the very limited time that is allowed for this discussion. I, sir, (said Mr. T.,) am in no way responsible for it. My fault has certainly not been a want of zeal in pressing the subject upon Congress. The course of things for the last few weeks has been eminently illustrative and characteristic. The whole time of the House has been occupied with matters of purely a personal or local character—in a miserable scramble for spoils, in which all parties have equally participated, to the exclusion of every thing of general importance. The question now before the House involves, in some sort, the destinies of a young Republic just rising into existence, and our own character for justice, consistency, and a fearless discharge of our duties. It is peculiarly fitting that we should introduce this young sister into the great family of nations. Why has it been so long postponed? Are gentlemen afraid of the argument? Are they afraid that a spontaneous burst of popular enthusiasm will force them to do that to which the cold, selfish, and sectional feelings of politicians are opposed?

I hope (said Mr. T.) to show, beyond the power of refutation, that it is our right and duty to recognise Texas, upon every principle of national law, as laid down by every publicist of reputation, as well as upon the established practice of our own and all other Governments. Martens, a writer of the very highest authority, lays it down that 'a foreign nation does not appear to violate its perfect obligations, nor to deviate from the principles of its neutrality, if, in adverting to the possession of power, without examining into its legality, it recognises,' &c.

Vattel says: 'In this particular foreign Powers take for their rule the circumstance of the actual possession of power, if the interest of their affairs so require; and, indeed, there cannot be a more certain rule, or one which is more agreeable to the law of nations or the independency of States. As foreigners have no right to interfere in the domestic concerns of a nation, they are not obliged to canvass or scrutinize her conduct in the management of them, in order to determine how far it is either just or unjust. They may suppose the right to be annexed to the possession.

'When a nation has expelled her sovereign, other nations consider her thenceforward as a free and sovereign State.

'If foreign Powers have received the ministers of a usurper, and sent theirs to him, the lawful Prince, on recovering the throne, cannot complain of these measures as an injury.' I will not fatigue the committee with other authorities from writers on public law; I will only add the weight of one distinguished name of our own country. Mr. Clay, in his speech on the recognition of the South American States, holds the following language:

'The rule we have followed has ever been this: to look at the state of the fact, and recognise that Government, be it what it might, which was in actual possession of sovereign powers. When one of these Governments was overthrown, without embarrassing ourselves with any of the principles involved in the contest, we have ever acknowledged the new and actual Government as soon as it had positive existence. If there is any principle settled for ages, any which is found in the very nature of things, it is that every sovereign Power has the right to judge of the existence of other sovereignties.' It is, sir, founded in the very nature of things. What is recognition? The acknowledgement, the annunciation of a fact; nothing more. What the necessity of this rule? The intercourse of nations is regulated by contracts called treaties. With whom are these contracts to be made? With the Government having actual possession of power; for no other can enforce them. A stronger case for illustration cannot be stated than that which we are considering. We have an unsettled question of boundary; can Mexico send commissioners to meet ours in adjusting the line? Can Mexico guaranty that line when it is run? Is there, in short, one vestige of Mexican power left in Texas? Why, sir, Mexico has no Government any where. It has none of the attributes of a Government—it is the corpse of a Government—the outward seeming and form, but without the living principle. Look at the correspondence of our minister with the Mexican Government; what a long list of violations of the laws of nations, and outrages upon all the rights of American citizens; outrages, if she were a respectable Power, sufficient to justify war. She is not. She is too weak, too feeble, for a contest with us; and nothing that is likely to occur would, in my judgment, justify it. Mexico is unable to restrain her people from violation of our rights; she is unable to compensate for the accumulated outrages which have been perpetrated. I am, nevertheless, not only opposed to war measures, but to menaces; although I well understand that these menaces are intended to aid in procuring a treaty for the cession of Texas. Anxious as I may be for such an event, vast and inappreciable as would be its advantages, yet, sir, the greatest earthly good is not to be sought by individuals, or nations, by dishonourable means.

If you restrict the inquiry as to recognition to the fact of the possession of power, the rule is safe and certain. If you put it upon the probability of maintaining that possession, you are thrown into a wilderness of doubt and uncertainty; you have no data which approach certainty. Upon what are such calculations to be made? Upon the superiority in money, men, and ships? How fallacious does all history show such data to be! Who can estimate that Antæan quality of liberty which rises from every fall 'renewed with strength, and fresh with life?' Who can estimate the power of free institutions, the difference between an army of freemen, contending for their hearths and altars, and the trained bands of a despot? Who, looking at the matter *à priori*, would have predicted the successful termination of our own Revolution? Or that a little State like Holland, not much larger than that from which I came, and like it in other things than extent of territory, could, single-handed and alone, have contended against the power of England on the ocean, and of France, of the magnificent Louis, on land? Yet her institutions were free, and her people, therefore, patriots; and she did so struggle, and gave to the history of man some of its brightest pages and most illustrious names—the names of Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt.

I can well conceive a case where, with the strong probability, and almost or quite a certainty, of the insurgent Government being speedily overthrown, foreign nations would not only have the right, but would be forced by an irresistible necessity, to recognise such Government. Many of the countries of Europe are dependent upon those on the Baltic for bread. In the case of a successful rebellion, and the establishment, however temporarily, of another Government, are those countries, thus dependent, to wait for the restoration of the ancient order, and starve in the mean time? Take another case: Great Britain is, in my judgment, absolutely dependent for her very existence upon American cotton. It employs so much of her labour, and its manufacture constitutes so large a portion of her wealth and power, that to be deprived of it would be to strike at the very foundation of her social and commercial organization; and it is a consoling reflection to me that Old England is not the only country in the world that is thus dependent. In the event of a successful revolution here, is she to calculate the probabilities of the termination of the contest, and, in the mean time, to bid famine and desolation to stalk through the land? No, sir; she would recognise the Government in power, establish relations with it, and, when it was overthrown, would do the same with the new Government. What was the course of England to those who temporarily held power during and at the close of the French Revolution—that Revolution against which all her vast powers were roused and exerted—opposition to which has entailed upon her a debt which has made every eighth man in England a pauper? Did she look to the principles involved? No; she utterly and always reprobated them; but only to the fact of the possession of sovereign power. What was the course of our own Government, in the ever-changing phases of that awful conflict which deluged France in blood, and made of her beautiful city a modern Golgotha? Whenever the curtain rose on a new scene in that grand drama of blood and crime, and new actors appeared upon the stage with the truncheon of power, we did not hesitate to clasp their reeking hands, ay, sir, with the blood of the best son of Louis, our own good and great ally, who had taken us by the hand and led us through 'the dark valley' of our Revolution, clotted under their finger nails! Even with the Directory, the infamous Directory, we were not only willing to establish relations, but sought them, sued for them.

What was the course of our Government with the insurgent States of South America? Spain had not abandoned the contest. There were at the very moment ten thousand Spanish troops in Venezuela alone, and Spain had possession of important posts in all the States, if States they might be called. Spain and Portugal were both arming and girding their loins for a last desperate conflict. There was every reason to believe that the allied sovereigns of Europe were about to interfere on the part of Spain; and it is now matter of history that at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle a proposition to that effect was made by Prussia, and only prevented by the resistance of England. In addition to which, South America was torn to pieces by intestine divisions; hostile chiefs were in the field, more opposed to each other than to Spain. Under these circumstances, we did not hesitate to recognise them. We did more: we forbade foreign interposition. Our Government was forced to these measures by the irrepressible enthusiasm of the people, who, in all matters involving the interest of human liberty, are always ahead of cold, selfish, calculating politicians. And why was it so? Was it really a contest for liberty? In name only; for the slightest reflection would have satisfied any one that they were incapable of maintaining it. It was not for liberty, but a change of masters; whether they should be the subjects of a civil despotism, as they were; or a military despotism, as they are. As to regulated liberty, they were unfit for it. They were intoxicated with its spirit, and reeled and tottered along, until they fell into the same slough from which they had emerged. They prostrated themselves before the harlot Licentiousness, and fondly imagined that they were worshipping the true goddess. The great cause of civil liberty was as little concerned as it would be in the question which particular buffalo should lead the vast herds which roam over our magnificent prairies. Yet, when they unfurled their banner, they inscribed upon it the sacred words, 'Liberty and Republic,' and our hearts bounded to them. It was right, sir, as the spontaneous and unperverted feelings of our people always are right; we no longer deserve liberty than we can sympathize with those who are struggling for it; we are no longer capable of maintaining it, when we are afraid to express that sympathy. Compare the situation of South American States then with Texas now. South America, without regular Governments, army, navy, or treasury; with the prospect of all Europe combining against the new States, and torn to pieces by domestic dissensions: Texas, with no motive for any foreign Power to interfere; a well-adjusted and well-administered Government, united as one man; an army, a band of heroes; a treasury in her lands almost inexhaustible, and one strictly so in the high minds and brave hearts of her gallant defenders, who ask no wages but victory, no guerdon but liberty.

Look at the very sensible report of the agent (Mr. Morfitt) lately sent to Texas. This fighting between Americans and Mexicans is no new thing; it has been going on since 1812; and what has been the uniform result? That the Americans, with one-fifth of the numbers of their adversaries, have always been victors—800 in an open fair field beating 4000 of the best troops of Mexico. I will not unnecessarily go into the detail. It fully sustains the opinion of Mr. Morfitt, that their relative power and efficiency is as one to five. Every military man knows that the superiority of good troops over bad is increased in an almost infinite ratio as you increase the numbers engaged. To say nothing of the advantages of the troops of the country invaded over those of the invaders, Mr. Morfitt states the army of Texas to be 7000 fighting men; does any man honestly think that Mexico can ever send men enough to Texas to reconquer it? No man does.

We recognised Mexico in 1822. She had no Government until 1824. Spain had possession of the fortress of St. Juan de Ulloa, one of the strongest in the world, and one which military men regard as the key to Mexico, and giving to those in possession of it absolute command of the country. Not only has Mexico no foothold in Texas, but the foot of a hostile Mexican does not pollute her free soil. Can Mexico complain that we do for Texas what we did for her? As to advancing the great cause of human liberty, how wide, how immeasurable, is the difference! The Texans have learned their lessons of liberty where alone they can be well learned, at the fireside. They take with them our liberty, language, and laws; and in my heart I believe the three are inseparable, and that the first cannot be enjoyed without the last. It has been the fashion, sir, to disparage and denounce the people of Texas. I regret that an illustrious man—a man than whom I reverence and respect none living more, for all his great and good qualities—has lent the weight of his great name to that which, if he had not done so, I should pronounce a gross calumny. Is it true that these people left a free Government for a despotism? They left the oppressed, the tribute-paying South, for a Government as free as any under the sun, amply and cautiously secured by charters. As to the population, I will only say that the delegation which Texas sent here a year ago could have desired a comparison with the representation of the majority of the States on this floor, only on the score of personal vanity. But, sir, look to their career, wise, glorious, and merciful, as it has been. Let any man point his finger to a fault that they have committed; where they have failed to do the right thing in the right place; where they have failed to conquer their enemies in the field, or to spare them when conquered. Is it to such a people that you will refuse sympathies which have been squandered upon the undeserving?

But, sir, there is a point in our history still more striking than those to which I have just alluded: the case of the rising of Greece against the power of the Ottoman—an insurrection begun by some bandit chiefs. The Greeks—always turbulent, factious, treacherous, and mercenary; their descendants possessing none of the qualities of their ancestors but their vices—chained down in slavery for two thousand years, abhorred and degraded by Byzantine and Mussulman, superstitious and oppressive—raised once more the shout of liberty; and what did we see? A proposition, in the very incipiency of their struggle, to give them the aid of our countenance; ay, sir, even at the risk of a conflict with the Holy Alliance, and tendering that issue. Whence came this movement? From a very distinguished representative of that very section which is with such unanimity opposed to this amendment! Why is this, sir? The true answer, if given, would do any thing else than satisfy a very large portion of the people of this confederacy. We could sympathize with the degenerate Greek. We could hope to see Greece, surrounded by Austria, Russia, and Turkey, a free Republic—a beautiful geography, truly, for a Republic. There are no such sympathies now for Texas, nor for liberty.

I will allude to only one other case; and although it was not the action of our Government, yet it is one which is more touching to my feelings. It was the course of France; that to which I feel we are indebted for the privilege which we have of sitting here; to which, next to an all-wise and all-ruling Providence, and the wisdom and courage of our fathers, we are indebted for the success of our own Revolution. It was to us what our recognition may be to Texas—the crisis of our fate. It was just at the moment of Lord North's conciliatory resolution, which General Washington was afraid would be known to the army, believing that it would divide our people and paralyse our strength. It was in February, 1778, that we were recognised by France. Will any one say that the contest was then ended, or even that there was a probability of success? That gave us success. And if ever there was a scene upon this earth upon which the powers above looked with delight, it was when Lafayette rushed into the tent of Washington to announce the fact, fell upon his breast, and burst into tears. Sir, is there a man with the heart of a man who can look back upon that scene and refuse to others that countenance to which we are so much indebted for our own national existence?

I have been asked, of what great advantage to Texas would our recognition be? I answer, it gives her position countenance. If we refuse it, how greatly will it embarrass her! If she applies, as she will, to other nations, what will be the answer? Why have not the United States recognised you? They are your nearest neighbours, and best know your true position. It is the Government most likely to sympathize with you. If your case were a proper one for recognition, the United States would be the first to do for you what was done for South America and Mexico. What reply could Texas make, but one which would degrade and dishonour us in the eyes of the world? That we did sympathize with them, that we well knew that they were entitled to recognition, but were afraid of offending the Powers of Europe; or, which should cause a deeper blush on the cheek of an American, that all the generous feelings of our nature were chilled and subdued by miserable considerations of sectional jealousies.

Suppose, however, that other Governments, more wise and less timid, take them by the hand; for, without the aid of your recognition, Texas is free beyond the reach of fate; is it prudent to drive off from us a people whose hearts turned to us in the very first moment of their triumph? Is it wise to change those feelings into alienation and a sense of wrong and injustice? I entreat gentlemen from the manufacturing and commercial States to consider the advantages of proper commercial relations with Texas; those sections which will supply them with manufactures and carriers for their immense productions. Is it wise to forego these advantages, and not only to lose their markets, but, through advantageous treaties made with England, for example, to have the whole West supplied with goods coming to Texas duty free, and smuggled into the United States? And would it be possible to prevent it? To the West, what advantages does it not hold out? A vision as bright, in a commercial point of view, as that which burst upon the seer on Pisgah—a railroad from New Orleans or Matamoras to the Gulf of California, opening to their energies and resources the vast trade of the Pacific, of India, and China.

But we have the old raw-head and bloody-bones of offending Old England held up to frighten us from our propriety. We are to be deterred from doing what is unquestionably right and proper, because other nations may not approve it. I like not this simulated virtue, which exists not in our own hearts, but in the eyes of other men. If that is to be our rule of conduct, we had better abolish all the forms of a free Government; for ours, bad as it is, is a standing eyesore to all despotisms. Corrupted as it is, perverted as are all its operations to base and selfish purposes, still it is better than any other.

Do gentlemen reflect how they repress the tone of American feeling at home, and the estimate of American character abroad, by such topics? Whence comes it? Is it a remnant of our colonial feeling, which neither the Revolution nor the late war has been able to remove? When, on ocean, lake, or land, have we ever met on equal terms that the roar of the British lion has not been turned into wailings? Such fears are unbecoming an American statesman, unworthy a freeman combating in a just cause; and I trust that I shall never be engaged in any other. Let our motto ever be that of England's lion-hearted King: "If the powers above will be but neutral, we fear no odds against the world in arms." But, sir, if I must, against my will, and in violation of all the just pride of an American, reason away these fears, what motive, let me ask, has Great Britain to interfere? Will not the settlement of Texas open an extensive market for her manufactures, and be an additional source of supply of the staple so important to her? What is there to countervail these important considerations? Nothing, sir, nothing.

It was a wise saying of Buonaparte, that, let alone the commerce and money of England, and you might do what you pleased. The only motive for such interference, that has ever been suggested, is the opposition of England to the extension of slavery. The great object has already been accomplished by the movement in the West Indies. English philanthropy is now satisfied. That act consists well with the uniformly cold, selfish, rapacious colonial policy of England. What dependent province has she failed to oppress and plunder, as far as she dared do it? Let her repeal the charter of her East India Company—a company of chartered plunderers and murderers. Let her do something to raise once more the people of Ireland—gallant, heroic, gifted Ireland—to the dignity of men and the rights of freemen, before she has the effrontery to talk of slavery and the rights of men in other countries.

Let that ribald reviler, that pensioned libeller, that hired patriot, O'Connell, who has unfortunately too much influence in the present policy of England, before he embarks in a crusade for liberty in other lands, go to his own good city of Dublin, and there at nightfall see the swarms of squalid wretches creeping from their dens of hunger and misery, with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness, standing under kitchen windows to catch literally the crums which fall from the tables of the rich. Let him divide with them his "rents," the degrading price of his patriotism. Let him at least vindicate their rights with the feelings of a patriot and the dignity of a statesman, before he shall dare to utter one word of sympathy with the slaves of this country, in all substantial comforts as well provided as he is, and more honest and virtuous, and therefore more happy. But, sir, if topics like these are to be urged here, how long will it be before we shall be told that we must not refuse to receive petitions from slaves lest England will take it in dudgeon? The cases are parallel.

He is very little acquainted with European politics, or with that lightest of all possible things, the present periodical literature of England, who does not know that the Government of that country has other matters on its hands, of far greater consequence. Since the seizure of the fortress of Oczaco, by the Russians, fifty years since, her course has been one of progressive and uninterrupted aggrandizement. The wars that have so much weakened some of the States of Europe, and annihilated others, have only resulted to Russia in an increase of territory and of power. That giant arm, even yet dripping with the blood of butchered Poland, is already uplifted, and all Europe is sitting and trembling under its dark shadow. England will make no war upon any free State; and this, and this only, was the true reason of her interposition in the unfortunate quarrel between this country and France.

Although, sir, I will not say that we are bound to extend aid and countenance to every insurgent people, I do think that we owe countenance and all proper aid to those who really strike for freedom and violated constitutional charters. We set this ball in motion: our Revolution, it has been truly said, was in politics what the reformation was in religion—it unchained the human mind. It was the greatest event in the history of man! How infinitely do all the discoveries in physical science sink in comparison with that glorious epoch when men were first taught to be free! Other nations struggling for liberty look to us as did the wise men to the Star of Bethlehem.

We, sir, have passed through the same stormy seas through which our gallant neighbour has been struggling unaided but by her own stout heart and sinewy arm. She has reached the light which we have placed upon the beach! Shall we drive her off? These young eagles, almost unfledged, have flown from their nest, and a grand and glorious flight they have made; they have been gazing on the sun, returning to us with weary wing; shall we refuse to them a resting-place? I hope, I trust not."

I shall take no formal leave of my readers, whether few or many, hoping to come before them again ere many months have passed.

SUPERNUMERARY CHAPTER, OR APPENDIX.

The author of "Texas and the Texans," had not intended in the first instance, giving a particular description of the soil, climate, productions, &c. of Texas, in the present volumes. But perceiving, since his arrival in Philadelphia a few weeks since, that much curiosity evidently existed on this subject, he has embraced the opportunity fortunately presented to him, by the accidental visit of an accomplished friend who has been for some years resident in Texas, of having something prepared by this friend which might serve to gratify that curiosity. It will be discovered, from what follows, that Dr. Smith has been compelled to write his interesting communication, *currente calamo;* and that he has generously permitted himself to be thrust before the public by me without the least opportunity of exercising, what no one is more skilled than himself in exercising—the *limæ labor* of composition. Although he evidently places but a moderate estimate upon his own necessarily hasty performance, I shall be disappointed if the judicious reader does not testify some regret that one so eminently qualified had not entirely relieved me from the task of writing the history of a country of which he is himself such an ornament in every respect. The communication of Dr. Smith comes to me from New York, this moment, enveloped in the following letter:

"My dear General,

In the following hasty sketch, I have endeavoured to give a general outline of the natural condition of Texas—much shorter and more imperfect than I should have wished, in view of the importance of the subject. If it shall be found dry, I can only say I have studiously avoided even the appearance of embellishment. I have written in this city—eighteen hundred miles from home, without the aid of any book, and relying wholly on my memory.

Wishing you the greatest success in your present undertaking—and in all things, I am,

Very truly,
Your friend,
ASHBEL SMITH.

General *Henry S. Foote*, of Mississippi.
New-York City, March 2, 1841."

THE Republic of Texas embraces a large territory extending through nearly fourteen degrees of latitude—from the twenty-sixth to near the fortieth degree North—and presents considerable variety of surface and elevation. Hence no single description of climate, soil and productions, would be applicable to the different parts of the country. As at the present time defined, it is bounded on the East, North-east, and North by the dividing line of the United States, formed in part by the Sabine, the Red and Arkansas rivers; on the West and South-West by the Rio Grande, and on the South and South-East by the Gulf of Mexico. The Western and North-Western regions abound in mineral wealth, and possess great agricultural resources; and this part of Texas is destined at no very distant period, to sustain a dense population. Yet, by reason of its remoteness from the great thoroughfare of nations, and its present occupancy by the Indian Tribes, except the Mexican settlements bordering the East bank of the Rio Grande, this region now attracts but little interest. Passing by, therefore, this large and important portion of our Republic, I shall confine my observations to that section where settlements have already been made by Anglo-American emigrants, and which is now engaging a very respectable share of the world's attention.

This district of country extends along the Gulf of Mexico, from the Sabine and Red Rivers on the North-East, to the Nueces on the South-West, stretching back into the interior to a distance of about two hundred miles. Through this region the great rivers, the Trinity, the Brassos, and Colorado, with other smaller but not unimportant streams, roll their waters into the Gulf of Mexico. For my present purpose it will be sufficient, without entering into minute geographical details, to mention the position of one tolerably central point; I have chosen the mouth of the Brassos river, which is in latitude 29° North, and 95° 18' West from Greenwich. The Gulf coast is low and level, and generally destitute of trees, except adjacent to the débouchure of the rivers. Here and there, however, along the shore, beautiful clumps of trees, commonly called islands of timber, are seen diversifying the landscape and relieving the otherwise monotonous, far-reaching horizon. Numerous bays indent the coast, some of which are of considerable extent. Galveston Bay stretches off, twenty miles broad, to a distance of forty miles into the interior.

From the sea the land rises gently, with occasional slight undulations of the surface, but on the whole presenting remarkable evenness for fifty or eighty miles and even further from the Gulf. Here the surface becomes more undulating and the rolling prairie country, as it is commonly denominated, commences. As you proceed into the interior, the country becomes more broken; and as you approach the head waters of the great rivers, mountains of moderate elevation are met with.

From the waters of the Gulf to the mountains, Texas is a prairie country. The large rivers are bordered on either side with a belt of timber, from one to several miles broad. The smaller streams are fringed in like manner with narrower borders of trees and shrubbery. The country intervening between the water courses is generally destitute of trees, except occasional 'islands of timber' containing a few acres, often many miles distant from each other. These prairies throughout their whole extent quite to the sea shore, are clothed with a most luxuriant growth of grasses gorgeously enamelled with flowers, and verdant nearly the whole year. In the less elevated and more southern portions the verdure is perennial, and furnishes abundant food at all seasons for the domestic as well as unreclaimed herds which swarm in these regions. The low country is a rich alluvion many feet deep, resting in some places on a bed of marl. Small pebbles scattered through the soil are first met with in the 'rolling country'; and they increase in quantity and size until you arrive at the masses which form the mountains.

Among the most noticeable natural features of Texas is to be mentioned the nearly total absence of swamps and lagoons: and the traveller westward from the valley of the Mississippi is not more struck by the change of scenery presented by Texas, than by emerging from the humid atmosphere of the valley into the dry, soft, voluptuous climate of this country. Immense bottoms like those of the Mississippi and some of its tributaries, in places of days' journey even in width, partially covered at one season with water, and often embosoming large stagnant pools throughout the year, and furnishing at all times such ample exhalations of moisture to the atmosphere as to affect the climate of extensive regions, are nowhere to be met with in the part of Texas I am now describing. In the latter, the surface preserves considerable elevation, generally speaking, quite to the banks of the rivers. This natural feature, in connection with the open prairie character and level surface of Texas, offering no obstruction to the sea-breezes which are felt a hundred miles from the coast, modifies its climate in a very important and beneficial manner, rendering it dry, elastic and healthy. I have no means near me of estimating the quantity of rain which falls in Texas in the course of a year. It may be stated in a general way as having a dry climate; and the dryness of the atmosphere increases as you go westward. Rain falls at every season; it is more abundant in the winter months; and a short rainy period commonly occurs before the æstival and autumnal equinoxes. The range of the thermometer in this climate is high during the warm season—

often ranging at 90° Fahrenheit and upwards at mid-day for weeks—but the bland breezes from the south, wafted directly from the great Gulf of Mexico, which prevail during this period often without the intermission of one day in a month, and usually blowing strongest at mid-day, render the heat very seldom oppressive. The nights are cool and refreshing. While the south winds prevail, the transparent clearness of the skies, the balmy softness of the atmosphere, realize all that poets have sung of the Ægean. The traveller pursues his journey over the prairies during the summer solstice, and a portion of the citizens wear cloth the whole year. The winds from the east and north-east are more harsh, and when they blow for a considerable period, produce an inelastic state of the atmosphere and dispose to intermittents. Frost commonly makes its appearance between the 1st and 10th of November. During the winter months, northerly and northwesterly winds are frequent—and the mercury sometimes falls for a short period several degrees below the freezing point. In the winter of 1837–8, it fell for a few hours as low as 12° above zero—and the orange trees at New Washington, the beautiful residence of Col. Morgan, were killed, as were those of Florida and the southern States of the Union at the same time. The trees of Col. Morgan's orangery afterwards germinated anew and vigorously from the roots. Snow is seldom seen in these parts of Texas; in the level and southern districts, I believe, scarcely ever.

For a southern country, Texas is uncommonly healthy. The absence of swamps and lagoons, the open champagne character of the country, which permits a free course of the Gulf breezes, cooling the atmosphere and preserving its purity, may be set down as the causes of this healthfulness. Typhus fever I have never seen during a practice of several years in this country: pleurisies are extremely rare; and this climate is admirably suited to the alleviation of pulmonic disease. I have known many advanced cases of pulmonary consumption wholly arrested by a residence here. In the level district, bilious diseases are met with of intermittent, remittent and continued forms—and sometimes, especially during the autumnal months, assume a violent character. Their frequency and severity are unquestionably much aggravated by the exposure and discomforts incident to a new country. Dysenteric complaints are comparatively quite rare—chronic affections of the liver are still less frequent—and diseases generally are simple and for the most part yield without much difficulty to appropriate treatment with good nursing. Those who avoid excesses of living and irregular exposure to the mid-day sun of the warm season, and negroes who are *uniformly* exposed, generally enjoy good health. In the 'rolling country' the diseases are more rare, and milder; the western regions are a garden of health. Places too, *immediately* on the Gulf coast or adjacent islands, as Galveston, San Luis, Velasco, and similar situations, may vie in salubrity with the most favoured parts of the globe. It is to be anticipated, however, from analogy and past history, that yellow fever will be an occasional visitant of those parts where a dense population and a large commerce in perishable commodities shall furnish the appropriate elements for its evolution.

As a planting country, Texas is unrivalled. The length of its season and the amazing fertility of its soil bestow on it this pre-eminence. All the staples of the south, cotton, sugar, and corn, are produced in the most lavish profusion, and the former of the first quality:—and rice, indigo and tobacco, it is believed, may be grown equally well; but cultivation has been hitherto confined to the former staples. Nor indeed is sugar yet cultivated on a large scale, owing to the expenses of machinery for its extraction and preparation. The planter commences pitching his crops—beginning with corn in the fore part of February, and he has no fears of its being nipped by the autumnal frosts before the last of October or November. The cotton opens in August, and from this time till the following spring is an almost uninterrupted season for picking it out. The long dry autumns, the mild winters without snow, are peculiarly favourable to the gathering of this staple. The ample food too for stock, furnished by the prairies at every season, enables the planter to appropriate nearly all his labour to the growth of cotton and other staples for foreign markets. On the plantation near the Brassos River belonging to my friend, Colonel James Love, formerly Representative in Congress from Kentucky, now of Texas, upwards of eleven bales of cotton of five hundred pounds to the bale were made to each hand, during the season just past, besides more corn and other crops than were required for the use of the plantation. Other planters, it is alleged, have made more to the hand, but I prefer to mention this fact, as it can be vouched for.

The small grains succeed luxuriantly in the rolling and upper country. The kinds of wheat commonly grown in the United States are regarded as not suited to the level district. I entertain, however, but little doubt that some varieties of Mediterranean wheat will be found adapted to this district. Most other small grains do well here.

The sweet potatoe, all varieties of peas and beans, watermelons and muskmelons of the first flavour, beets, carrots, parsneps, turnips, onions, cabbage, with other garden vegetables, as asparagus, okra, salsifies, the egg plant, are produced in the greatest profusion and highest perfection. The tomato grows spontaneously on the prairies. The most delicious strawberry seems in Texas to have found its native soil. It is however to be remarked that the strawberry is not found growing wild in the prairies of Texas, so far as I am informed, as it is in the prairies east of the Mississippi river. The Irish potato succeeds well in the upper districts —to have them of superior quality in the level region, it is necessary to renew the seed occasionally from climates more suitable to its culture.

Peaches of delicious flavour, figs, oranges, pomegranates, quinces, grapes; and in the forests, the pecan, hickory nut, persimmon, wild grape, wild plum, various species of the blackberry, flourish in high perfection here. It is proper to mention that in the more exposed situations, the orange requires some protection against the cold. That the climate of Texas and some of its soils are admirably adapted to the best foreign vines, is believed from the successful culture of some vines introduced from the United States. The trial is now making on an extensive scale with some grape cuttings and the olive-tree recently imported in the Fils Unique from the south of France. Nor can we hesitate about the raising of silk, should it ever be regarded as desirable to engage in it, when we observe the thriftiness of the morus multicaulis, and some varieties of wild mulberry found here.

Among the forest trees of Texas may be mentioned several varieties of oak, pine, cedar, white poplar, hickory, ash, elm, locust, muskeet, pecan, bois d'arc, magnolia, cotton-wood, gum, dog-wood, wild peach, &c. &c. The various uses to which these trees may be applied, suggest themselves on mentioning their names. The large quantity of live oak in Texas, forming a considerable share of all in the known world, is worthy of particular attention, and is justly regarded as constituting an important item of the national wealth. The various oaks too, add to the facilities of living by the valuable mast they afford for hogs. As regards cedar, I may observe that the Brig North sailed last autumn from Galveston for an European port, laden with this timber. The apprehension is entertained by some persons that there will be a deficiency of timber in Texas. There already exists an ample quantity for many years; and in Texas, as in other prairie regions where settlements are made, the country becomes in a short time clothed with timber.

Gold and silver mines have been known for a long time to exist in the elevated regions of Texas. I have seen rich specimens brought from the San Saba mountains. The gold ore was rich and resembled some ores of the North Carolina mines and those of Gongo in Brazil. But a mine so much more certain exists in the soil, and agriculture comports so perfectly with the inclination of the people, that I do not anticipate the speedy working of the mines, except perhaps by foreign capitalists. Extensive beds of excellent coal have been discovered on the Trinity river. Strong saline springs exist in various parts of Texas; and the salt lakes of the west would furnish exhaustless quantities of this indispensable condiment.

The visiter from the United States, on arriving in Texas, is struck with the large size and spreading horns of the cattle, which feed in great numbers on the prairies. Their large and superior forms are probably owing to the genial climate, and to the perennial venture affording abundant food at every season of the year. They require no other care than occasional herding, to keep them gentle and prevent their straying, and to mark the calves. Hence stock raising is a profitable business, and is estimated to pay forty per cent. per annum. A perfect race of cattle would, I conceive, result from the cross of the Durham and Texan, giving to the great size of the latter the finish of form belonging to the former.

Hogs thrive admirably in Texas on the grass, roots, mast and fruits. As fine forms of the Berkshire, China, and Irish grazier breeds, are seen here as in any country. Pork is easily converted into bacon and preserved without difficulty; which is not the case in the Southern latitudes of the Union. I can attribute this only to the superior dryness of the atmosphere of Texas.

Herds of wild horses feed on the prairies, and are met with in greater numbers as you proceed West. The small pointed ear, the fine coat of hair, show their descent from the horse introduced by the Spanish Conquerors of Mexico. They possess excellent wind, good constitutions, clean limbs, and tough hoofs; they are, however, inferior to the American blood-horse in volume of muscle. They are easily subdued to the saddle, but commonly retain some of their vicious propensities through life. A cross of the Mexican horse with the American, produces a very tough, serviceable nag. The taking of a wild horse by a Mexican ranchero, is a display of equestrian skill and valour which the artist of Astley's or Franconi's might well envy. The ranchero on horseback dashes among the herd as they rush over the prairie, and swinging about his head his coiled lariat—a platted raw-hide rope, with a running noose at the end—he throws it with great precision over the neck of the horse he wishes to take. The captured animal often puts in requisition all the skill and intrepidity of the ranchero. Mules are raised in great numbers: they are admirably suited to the uses of a plantation, but are generally inferior in size to those of Kentucky.

No country surpasses Texas in abundance of game. Immense herds of buffalo are met with above the settlements—a few still linger about one part of Galveston Bay. Deer flock over every prairie. Wild turkeys, the prairie-hen, a delicious bird of the grouse kind, partridges, the delicate rice-bird, with numerous others, are found in great numbers. During the winter months, the bays are alive with myriads of wild geese and ducks. The flamingo is occasionally seen here to display its brilliant plumage; the stately swan frequents the waters of the bays: and around the houses of the plantations, the mocking-bird makes its home—the bird whose melodious notes have been so beautifully described by the naturalists who have written on America. Among the larger birds, not hitherto named, are the pelican, the white and grey crane, and the eagle. In all the waters, fish of the choicest kinds abound. Along the coast, are oysters of large size and the finest flavour, crabs, and shrimps of superior excellence, in profusion.

The fiercest wild animal found in Texas, is probably the cougar. It is not often met with, and seldom, if ever, attacks man. There are also bears, wolves, and a few wild-cats; but this country is less infested with wild animals than most new countries whose vast forests afford them a shelter. Among the lesser animals are the opossum, pole-cat, rabbit, and grey squirrels.

It does not seem amiss in this place to advert to the internal trade with Mexico, much of which is destined to be carried on through Texas, and to become a source of great wealth to this country. A considerable portion of this trade has been hitherto done through St. Louis, Missouri, to the amount of several millions annually. The balance of it, to a larger amount, has found its way through the Mexican ports. From St. Louis to Santa Fé, an advanced post on the Mexican frontier, whence the merchandise is distributed to the interior, is upwards of fifteen hundred miles. The caravans leave in the spring and return in the autumn. The route over the vast prairie is often impassable in winter, and it lies through the Comanche and their kindred tribes of Indians. The dangers and expenses of introducing goods through the Mexican ports, are so considerable that the Mexican traders are already taking the route through Texas, since they learn they can do so without molestation. Steam packets of the first class leave New Orleans for Galveston at this season, every five days; and the passage is made in two days. Between Galveston and Houston, there exists daily intercourse by steamboats. From Houston to Chihuahua, a town estimated to contain fifteen thousand souls, and the centre of the Mexican population of the great States of Santa Fé, Chihuahua, and Coahuila, is less than seven hundred miles, over an excellent natural road, passable at every season of the year, affording by its perennial verdure, abundant food for the animals; and in the herds of deer, buffalo, and other game, precluding the danger of hunger among the men. The country abounds in gold and silver; and its population is eager after the manufactures of civilized nations.—The most expeditious, safest, and best channel for this trade, is through Texas; and immense fortunes may be speedily realized by those who shall first embark in it.

Texas has several ports with sufficient depth of water on the bar to admit vessels of commerce of considerable burthen; but no one will admit ships of war of the middle class. The best ports are those of Galveston and San Luis, which have from 13 to 15 feet of water at their entrance over bars of sand. Sabine Bay presents considerably less depth of water on its bar, but this is of soft mud. The mouth of the Brassos river is obstructed by a sand-bar with from 5 to 8 feet of water, over which rolls a heavy surf. It appears to be the best opinion that the trade of the Brassos must be done through San Luis and Galveston. Farther west are the entrances to the bays of Matagorda, Aransas, and Corpus Christi, and near the Rio Grande is the Brassos Santiago. These are important to the commerce of Texas, but none of them afford a greater depth of water nor other facilities for vessels of war, superior to those of Galveston and San Luis.

The rivers of Texas, though of great length, and rolling large volumes of water along their course, do not afford first-rate facilities for internal commerce. The Trinity has been ascended during high water 400 miles, computing the meandering of the stream, by steamboats drawing 4 feet of water. It preserves its elevation during the winter and spring months; in the warm season it is low, like other Southern rivers. When we consider the extensive bodies of excellent and well-timbered land on the Trinity, the great convenience of its navigation is obvious. The Brassos has been ascended in steamboats as high as Washington; but its waters rise and fall rapidly, and its navigation is difficult. The Colorado is obstructed by a large raft near its mouth, and in other respects is like the Brassos. But the amazing fertility of the soil on these and the adjacent streams, will furnish the means of removing all obstacles to internal commerce. In view of navigation only, Buffalo Bayou, in connection with Galveston Bay, is among the most important water courses of Texas. To Houston there is safe and convenient steamboat navigation every day of the year. And for practical purposes, this may be considered the most interior point of navigation of the country. As evidence of this fact, the City of Houston is among the most flourishing towns of Texas. The soil, however, in its vicinity, is regarded as inferior to many other portions of the country.

The facilities of Texas for forming rail-roads will be at once appreciated from its level surface. Grading is but a trifling expense, and the immense quantities of live-oak furnish the best material in the world for the bed of the road. Public attention has been turned to this subject, and we may anticipate, ere long, the completion of a road connecting the rolling country on the Brassos river with the waters of Galveston Bay.

It has not been my purpose, nor would my limits suffer me to enter into practical details concerning differences of soil, the various growths of timber, and other facilities for planting purposes which characterize the different districts of the country that has been under review. These are often striking within even short distances; and it is a subject of interesting study to the traveller to remark the varieties of soil and growth and appearance of water courses presented by different parts of the region watered by the Trinity, San Jacinto, Buffalo Bayou, and Brassos; and in like manner of other sections of the Republic.

Nor does it come within the scope of my letter nor my powers to attempt any description of the scenery of Texas; yet the beauty of its scenery is one of its most striking features. To describe the Bay of San Jacinto as seen from Evergreen, the residence of my friend General Baker—presenting a view unsurpassed for picturesque beauty—the velvet green lawn skirting the water—the winding shore jutting out here and there into a promontory studded with evergreen groves—the broad walk of white shells along the margin of the bay formed by the heaving of its waters—Evergreen island in front, with other islands and peninsulas, and the opposite shores diversifying the prospect—the myriads of wild fowl dabbling in the water during the winter months—and far off to the left, Galveston Bay stretching towards the city of the same name until it meets the sky in the horizon, would task the powers of Thomson. The rolling country, with its long sloping lawns and variously symmetrical hills crowned on their summits with copses of trees, delights the traveller with agreeable landscapes on every side. Innumerable herds of wild horses, buffalo, and deer, relieve the prospect on the almost boundless prairies of the west.

Other topics, such as the condition, manners, and war force of the Aborigines; the increase of the Anglo-Saxon population, the state of society, its progress in the arts and improvements of civilized life in Texas, though of much interest, are obviously uncalled for here.

POSTSCRIPT.

It is a fact not to be disguised, and perhaps upon the whole not at all to be regretted, that, since the termination of the Texan struggle for Independence, uncommon efforts have been made, by several individuals by no means unknown to fame, to get up and to perpetuate sentiments of disesteem, and even of hostility, for Texas and the Texans, in a particular section of the United States. The avowed object of these enkindlers of an Anti-Texan feeling, is to prevent the future annexation of Texas to the United States, as an integral member of the Confederacy; and thus indirectly to assail the system of domestic slavery in the South, and obviate the danger apprehended of the Southern and Western States of the Union ultimately gaining an influence among the Co-States, which might interfere with the existing ascendency of the Northern and Eastern members of the Confederacy. It is not doing injustice to other champions of Geographical dominion, and of Abolition, to mention the names of Ex-President John Quincy Adams, and the Reverend Dr. Channing, as the Chiefs of this Anti-Texan phalanx: since the almost octogenarian politician mentioned, comes on to Congress every winter groaning under a very ass's load of Abolition and Anti-Texan petitions, from men, women, and children; and has embraced every opportunity that has occurred for four years past, of ejaculating his spleen against Texas and the Texans, their friends, aiders, or abettors, in Congress and out of it, through speeches actually delivered, or speeches actually *suppressed*, but afterwards published;—and since his illustrious co-labourer, Mr. Channing, (abandoning the rose-besprent pathways of literary honour, in which he is supposed by a few, at one time, to have walked with something of a peculiar grace—and waiving for a season the discussion of dry and musty points of disputed Theology,) has fiercely buckled on his celestial armour in this most unnatural strife; and, not content with hurling from his teeming cranium those "paper pellets of the brain," which are now circulating in the shape of pamphlets through every part of the Union, is striving also, with [illegible] diligence seldom surpassed, to convoke popular assemblies, in large cities of the North and East, in order to bring to the aid of the good cause which he has so zealously espoused, the clamour of the multitude, and thus, if possible, extinguish all those generous sympathies for our Anglo-American brethren beyond the Sabine, which have been so honourably displayed, *by men of all parties*, in the United States, ever since the true character of the Texan struggle has been at all understood. Mr. Adams and Mr. Channing are both understood to have declared themselves disapprovers of the war waged in Texas against Mexican despotism; they have both distinctly avowed themselves to be on the side of Mexico in that war; and have evidently resolved not to desist from their proselyting efforts so long as their practised tongues are able to wag in vehement articulation, or their cunning fingers refuse not despatchfully to drive facile pen over submissive reams of paper, white, red, and blue. Now, I have no intention of assailing either of these worthies on the present occasion. I do not wish too suddenly to rouse that hornets' nest of denunciation, with whose whereabouts I have formed some acquaintance. As to Mr. Channing, I turn him over to the able and amiable chastisement of his friend, Professor Hare, whose sensible and manly letter has been handed me for insertion here, and to the more elaborate notice of a Reverend friend of mine, of singular piety and accomplishments, in the District of Columbia, who has promised me, within three days past, to publish a regular answer to Mr. Channing's anti-Texan pamphlets, which said pamphlets it really has not been my good fortune yet to see. In relation to Mr. Adams, I have a remark or two to make. This gentleman has attacked, some time since in Congress, and otherwise, the *sovereign State* in which it is my honour to reside, on account of her Legislature having dared, *unanimously*, Whigs, Democrats, and Conservatives, to memorialize, several years ago, for the annexation of Texas. I had much to do with that very memorial which Mr. Adams abused so virulently. This gentleman has not hesitated to arraign one of the most honourable and noble-spirited sons of the South, (a descendant, too, of Pocahontas, of blessed memory,)—the Honourable Powhatan Ellis, for firmly upholding the honour of the United States at the semi-barbarous Court of Mexico,—accusing him of being influenced, as the diplomatic agent of the United States, more by what, with a singular refinement, the Ex-President called *a greediness for Texan lands*, than a proper sense of official duty. He has dragged forward petition on petition against Texas into the House of Representatives; and the other day, when men got sick of his endless *sing-song* on this topic, stuffed the titles of some hundred and twenty of these same petitions into the National Intelligencer, noted as *not presented.* He has complained, session after session, that no Southern man dared to meet him in debate on the subject, and has evidently exulted much at being permitted to run over the arena of conflict without finding a champion disposed to encounter him. Mr. Adams is evidently fond of speaking; and professes to be a zealous advocate of free discussion. Now, I will make a notification to him, which is this: If he believes that he is really capable of maintaining, that *Texas was not right in waging war for Independence;* or that *the State of Mississippi was not justifiable in petitioning Congress for the annexation of Texas to the American Confederacy*, and is willing to meet in discussion of these propositions, or either of them, an antagonist who, in all sincerity, acknowledges his own intellectual inferiority, and total want of skill in the arts of controversial warfare, he shall, assuredly, on naming *time* and *place*, (the latter being anywhere between Boston and New Orleans, *inclusive*, the former any moment after three months from the present date,) find one advancing against him, whose highest delight it would be to battle, *courteously* and *fairly*, for *Truth* and *Justice*, against any champion, great or small, that the enemies of Texas and the Texans may send against him, from a Goliath-of-Gath Ex-President of a great Republic, to the most vulgar and mischievous peddler of interested Politico-Fanaticism, who ever attempted to shuffle off his false haberdashery upon honest and confiding men and women, unversed in the tricks and subtleties of the *moral wooden-nutmeg trade.* And, if in such a conflict I should be fated to fall by superior prowess, the renowned author of Dermot McMorrough would have the pleasure, possibly, of hearing me howl out, with lugubrious cadence, in the ultimate couplet of that same much-read Epic, but which really I have never yet had time to read:—

"My voice is weak, alas! I cannot sing,
Touch, touch yourself the never-dying string:"

with this slight alteration, by way of parody:

My soul is faint, alas! I cannot speak,
Let some more valiant champion meet this *Greek*,
Whose seven-fold shield of *brass* and bullock's skin,
Securely guards the life which throbs within,—
Whose tempered sword resistless cleaves its way,
And spite of *Justice* ever wins the day.

In the meantime, I will respectfully call the attention of Ex-President Adams to the following interesting extract from a letter written by a gentleman well known to him, and with whom he has had much correspondence on other matters, *Nicholas Biddle*, Esq. I have but slight personal acquaintance with Mr. Biddle; and could name several questions in reference to which I do not entirely agree with him; but as a zealous and valuable friend of the Texan Republic, I have long regarded this gentleman in the most favourable manner, and am glad to have it in my power to present the additional evidence furnished by him, that no *regular party lines* separate the friends and enemies of Texas and the Texans in the United States; but that liberal-spirited Whigs, and liberal-spirited Democrats, have discovered at least one piece of solid ground on which they can stand, shoulder to shoulder, and feel with honest gladness of heart, that

Their's is no common party race,
Jostling by dark intrigue for place.

The extract from Mr. Biddle's letter referred to, is as follows:

"The question of Texas is strangely misunderstood in the United States, because it is treated as a mere party question, to be decided of course by political passions and party interests. If I am somewhat less influenced by these feelings, it is probably owing to the circumstance, that, for thirty-five years, I have been familiar with the subject. You know that I began my public life as the Secretary of the American Minister at Paris, in 1804, when all the details of the purchase of Louisiana, of which Texas then formed a part, passed through my hands; and when, afterwards, the Government sent a party to explore the new purchase, I prepared for the press, the history of that expedition, known as the Travels of Lewis and Clark. These circumstances have made me better acquainted with Texas than most of our countrymen, and they may perhaps inspire some confidence in the opinions I am about to express, with regard to the history and present state of that country: and

1st. Of its history:

To the common apprehension, Texas is some wild waste region, wholly unknown to the United States, which certain American adventurers have wrested from its true and original owner, Mexico. Nothing can be more erroneous than all this. The facts are, that when Louisiana was purchased from France, this very Texas was claimed as an integral part of it—claimed as belonging to the United States, as much as New Orleans did—that for a series of years the claim was constantly and vigorously maintained—that, although, in 1819, the United States, in their anxiety to obtain Florida, yielded to the Government of Old Spain their claim on a part of Texas, yet immediate endeavours were made to recover it, and that for more than thirty years, every administration, of every party, and almost every prominent leader of all parties, have anxiously sought to bring Texas into the Union. Of these facts in their order.

1st. On the 28th of January, 1805, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Monroe, the Plenipotentiaries of the United States, acting under the instructions of Mr. Madison, the Secretary of State of Mr. Jefferson, addressed a letter to Mr. Cevallos, the Spanish Secretary of State, in which they say:—"We have the honour to present to your Excellency a paper on this subject, which we presume proves in the most satisfactory manner that the boundaries of that province, (Louisiana,) as established by the treaties referred to, are, the river Perdido to the East, and the *Rio Bravo to the West*. The facts and principles which justify this conclusion, are so satisfactory to our Government, as to convince it, that the United States *have not a better right to the island of New Orleans, under the cession referred to, than they have to the whole district of territory which is above described*." This territory, bounded on the West by the Rio Bravo—called indiscriminately Rio Bravo, Rio Bravo del Norte, and Rio del Norte—to which the United States thus assert as good a right as they have to New Orleans, is this identical Texas.

2d. The progress of years weakened nothing of the force of this claim. On the 12th of March 1818, Mr. Adams, the American Secretary of State, in a letter to Mr. Onis, the Spanish Minister, repels the very suggestion of any doubt that Texas belonged to the United States. 'You know, Sir,' says he, 'and your own notes furnish themselves the most decisive proofs, that France, while she held the colony of

Louisiana, never did consider the Mississippi as the western boundary of that province.' * * '*She always claimed the territory which you call Texas, as being within the limits and forming part of Louisiana.*'

Notwithstanding these solemn declarations, it was thought so desirable, in the general dilapidation of the Spanish monarchy, to prevent the transfer of Florida to a Foreign power, that on the 22d of February 1819, a treaty was made with Old Spain, not with Mexico, by which, in consideration of the cession of Florida to the United States, they agreed to pay five millions of dollars, and to recognise the boundary of the Sabine, which both parties knew was not the real boundary—but only a conventional line for the occasion. This compromise, although acquiesced in from the strong desire to possess Florida, satisfied neither political party in the United States. Mr. Clay vehemently denounced it, and he introduced into the House of Representatives a declaratory resolution—'That the equivalent proposed to be given by Spain to the United States for that part of Louisiana lying West of the Sabine, was inadequate, and that it would be inexpedient to make a transfer thereof to any foreign power.'

3d. The error of that treaty indeed soon became manifest, as the upper regions of the Mississippi became settled—when Texas was seen stretching its broad extent between the Gulf of Mexico—and Arkansas and Missouri—and all the future States to the Rocky Mountains, and barring against the United States the best outlet to the Pacific. Accordingly, Mr. Adams, the same statesman who had signed the treaty, had not been elevated to the Presidency more than a few days,* when

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* Reader, this is the same Mr. Adams who is now striving, not "to bring into the Union this same country of Texas," but to keep it out of the Union, by vehement agitation, in Congress and out of it. This is the same statesman who, in 1827, as Mr. Biddle, without the least hostile intent towards his friend Mr. Adams, incidentally shows, authorised Mr. Clay to instruct Mr. Poinsett to "propose the purchase of the whole country to the Rio del Norte, being the present Texas." This is the same statesman under whose direction Mr. Clay then said to Mr. Poinsett: "The President authorises you to offer to the Government of Mexico a sum not exceeding one million of dollars" for this identical Texas. This is the same statesman at whose instance, too, Mr. Clay said to Mr. Poinsett: "The Treaty may contain a provision similar to that in the Louisiana and Florida Treaties, for the incorporation of the inhabitants into the Union, as soon as it can be done consistently with the principles of the Federal Constitution."

Well may Mr. Biddle say, as he does in his letter: "Both parties, Mr. Adams' and Mr. Jackson's party, had agreed to stipulate with a foreign power, and thus pledge irrevocably the public faith that Texas should be introduced into the Union, as Louisiana was, without any restriction as to the number of states into which she was divided, or the number of slaves she might contain, and now, when she asked admission as a single State, the result was, that after offering four millions for a part of Texas, the whole came to us for nothing, and we refused it;—that after endeavouring to bring it into the Union in such a way as to make six or eight slave-holding States, we declined to receive it as a single individual State."

I shall not now remark upon this astonishing inconsistency in the course of Mr. Adams upon the Texas question; I shall not stop to inquire whether he acted so completely under the command of Mr. Clay in 1827, that the local prejudices which have unfortunately generally marked his course as a public man, had no opportunity of displaying almost his first act was to try to recover and bring into the Union this very samè country of Texas. On the 26th of March, 1825, his Secretary of State, Mr. Clay, instructed Mr. Poinsett, the American Minis-

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themselves as Mr. Clay at one time supposed them to have done at Ghent, touching the navigation of the Mississippi. It will be for Mr. Adams to explain these things to the satisfaction of a dispassionate posterity, who will shortly pass upon him and his whole conduct as a public man.

It would be unbecoming a Southern man to urge that the veteran politician of Quincy, (certainly without the least design,) inflicted serious injury upon the Abolition cause by refusing to throw the banner of the Union over Texas four years ago; since, had Texas been admitted then as a single state, she would have been, according to the views of some, within constitutional range of that terrible Abolition artillery whose missiles are constantly flying in all directions over the Republic: let this matter be settled among those interested. But I may be permitted here to suggest, that it is one of the most surprising facts that has occurred in American history, that a President of the United States (Mr. Adams), should, in 1827, have agreed to the admission of the region, called Texas, into the Union (in the words of Mr. Biddle) "as Louisiana was:" and yet that the same gentleman should, under the influence of that chimera which seems to have continually haunted his imagination, as to the growing power of the South and West, for more than twenty years past, have spoken of this same purchase of Louisiana, and of Mr. Jefferson, the purchaser, in the following terms, in the year 1839, in his Jubilee Speech at New York. After dwelling for some time upon the horrors of the French Revolution, and charging the Republican party of the United States with sanctioning them all, he says:

"Through all these varying phases of the French Revolution, the party opposed to Washington's administration still clung in affection and in policy to France, and when by the election of Mr. Jefferson as President of the United States, that party came into power, it was precisely the moment when Napoleon at the head of his brave grenadiers had expelled the two legislative councils from their halls, had turned out the then-philanthropic Directory from their palace; and under the very republican name of first of three consuls, was marching with fixed eye and steady step to the consulate for life, to the hereditary imperial throne, and to the kingdom of the iron crown. To all these transmutations the pure republicanism of Jefferson was to accommodate itself without blench and without discarding his partiality for France. Nor was it to fail of its reward, in the acquisition of Louisiana—a measure not embraced or foreseen by the administration of Washington, accomplished by a flagrant violation of the Constitution, but sanctioned by the acquiescence of the people, and if not eventually leading to the dissolution of the Union, shaped by the healing and beneficent hand of Providence from a portentous evil into a national blessing.

"The consequences of *that* revolution to our Union (for it was nothing less) are not yet fully developed—far otherwise. But whether for weal or woe—for the permanent aggrandizement, or the final ruin of our confederated nation, it belongs to the memory of Jefferson, and not to that of Washington or his administration. Hitherto it has exhibited its fairest side. It has enlarged our borders and given us the whole valley of the Mississippi. The pernicious and corrupting example of an undissembled admitted prostration of the Constitution—the more concealed, but not less real displacement of the internal sectional balance of power—have not yet borne their fruits. Upon the opening of Pandora's box, Hope was left behind. Hitherto no seed of deadly aconite has germinated into pestilential poison. Let us rejoice at the past and hope for the future," &c.

I will offer no observations upon the glaring *inconsistency* here unfolded to view; I shall say not a word in defence of the illustrious dead from the ill-natured assailment of an individual who, whilst Mr. Jefferson lived, was professedly his devoted friend and enthusiastic admirer; but one fact is certain, that until Mr. Adams shall emerge from the predicament in which he stands of having deliberately sanctioned what he denominates "a flagrant violation of the Constitution," "a pernicious and corrupting example of an undissembled admitted prostration of the Constitution," Texas will have but little ter in Mexico, that the boundary of the Sabine was too near the United States—that a change was desirable, and therefore, 'The President wishes you to sound it [the Mexican Government] on that subject, and to avail yourself of a favourable disposition, if you should find it, to effect that object.' This overture being unsuccessful, a new and more vigorous effort was made on the 15th of March, 1827, when Mr. Clay instructed Mr. Poinsett to propose the purchase of the whole country to the Rio del Norte, being the present Texas. 'The boundary,' says he, 'which we prefer is that which *beginning at the mouth of the Rio del Norte in the sea*, shall ascend that river—thence to the forty-second degree of latitude, and by that degree to the Pacific.' To obtain this, 'the President authorizes you to offer to the Government of Mexico a sum not exceeding one million of dollars;' and farther, 'that the treaty may contain a provision similar to that in the Louisiana and Florida treaties, for the incorporation of the inhabitants into the Union, as soon as it can be done consistently with the principles of the Federal constitution.'

4th. The same efforts made by Mr. Adams, were pursued by his successor, Mr. Jackson, who, in the first month of his Presidency, took measures to purchase Texas and bring it into the Union. Mr. Van

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to fear from his hostility, however active may be his endeavours to injure her, and to persuade the poor old ladies of his vicinage to get up petitions upon which to harangue the House of Representátives, and to harass the peace of the Republic.

Twenty years hence, when Ex-President Adams shall have found commune with his reverend ancestors, beyond the visible firmament, the friends of Texas and the Texans will in all probability be heard to recite the language of his own Jubilee Oration, applying it to him and his huge budget of slubberdegullion petitions, saying: "Upon the opening of Pandora's box, Hope was left behind. Hitherto no seed of deadly aconite has generated into pestilential poison;" and I rejoice to know that Mr. Adams' Jubilee Oration of one hundred and twenty pages, all drawn up for the purpose of showing that the states were never *sovereign*, and that the Federal Constitution had derived its validity and binding force alone from the people of the Union as a *consolidated mass*, was, four days ago, completely counteracted by a single sentence which fell from the lips of a true disciple of Thomas Jefferson,—a man beloved and admired, and confided in, by good men and true of all parties, John Tyler of Virginia, who, on taking the oath of office as second officer of this great Republic, in his address to the Senate, among other truths said: "Here are to be found the immediate *representatives of the States, by whose sovereign will the Government has been spoken into existence.*"

Again may we exclaim: "Upon the opening of Pandora's box, Hope was left behind. Hitherto no seed of deadly aconite has generated into pestilential poison." *And so mote it ever be!*

It is but respectful to the venerable Bard of Quincy to close this notice of him with certain lines of an admired poet, who has happily depicted the exorbitant restlessness which has marked his career for the last twelve years, thus:

"*Quiet* to quick bosoms is a hell,
And *there* hath been thy bane; there is a fire
And motion of the soul, which will not dwell
In its own narrow being, but aspire
Beyond the fitting medium of desire;
And but once kindled, quenchless evermore,
Preys upon high adventure, nor can tire
Of aught but rest; a fever at the core,
Fatal to him who bears, to all who ever bore."

Buren, his Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. Poinsett, on the 25th of August, 1829. 'It is the wish of the President that you should without delay open a negotiation with the Mexican Government for so much of the province of Texas as is hereinafter described, or for such part as they may be induced to cede to us.' 'The territory,' he adds, 'of which a cession is desired by the United States, is all that part of the province of Texas east of a line from the centre of the Great Prairie between the Nueces, and the Rio del Norte, north to the forty-second degree of latitude, where that line would strike our present boundary.' For this country, which you perceive is much less than that asked for by Mr. Adams, which went at once to the Rio del Norte, he was authorized to give a sum not exceeding four millions of dollars; 'but so strong are the President's convictions of its great value to the United States, that he will not object if you should find it indispensably necessary, to go as high as five millions.' Mr. Van Buren adds, 'The treaty may also contain a provision similar to that in the Louisiana and Florida treaties for the incorporation of the inhabitants into the Union, as soon as it can be done consistently with the principles of the Federal Constitution.' This negotiation being abortive, it was revived on the 4th of August, 1835, when Mr. Forsyth, the Secretary of State, instructed Mr. Butler, the representative of the United States in Mexico, to negotiate for a boundary 'from the eastern bank of the Rio del Norte to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, thence along that parallel to the Pacific,'—and a further sum, which in the published despatches is of course left in blank, was placed at his disposal in addition to the five millions previously authorized.

You will thus perceive, that under all our political parties, a constant effort has been made, first, to retain Texas as belonging to the Union, and when that failed, to purchase it and bring it into the Union.

Now as to its present state and prospects:

During these negotiations for the purchase of Texas, the inhabitants of the country themselves, over whom the Government of Mexico had, in the progress of the Revolution, been substituted for their mother country, Spain, deeming themselves oppressed by this Mexican dominion, revolted against it—declared their Independence, and finally expelled the Mexican armies from their country. Now in that civil war, as in all other civil wars, it is superfluous for foreign nations to inquire which side was right, or which wrong, and whether the alleged causes of throwing off the Mexican yoke were sufficient. All struggles for a change of government are mere rebellions until success makes them revolutions, and the causes of both must for ever remain in the debateable land of history. It is too late to discuss the merits of the revolt of the Spaniards against the Moors,—the revolt of the Dutch against the Spaniards—the revolt of the English against the Stuarts—the revolt of the French against the Bourbons—of the Americans against the English—of the Mexicans against the Spaniards—or now of the Texans against the Mexicans. The question after all is a mere question of fact. Who administers the government—who directs the physical power of the country? Now in the case of Texas, we have all the elements of an independent government. An Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary organization after the best models—a Military power—a Naval power. There has not been for three years a hostile Mexican on her soil. She is acknowledged by her nearest and strongest neighbour—her flag is commercially acknowledged by France and by England, though for obvious reasons an avowed political recognition of a recent colony is delayed—and I have no doubt that Mexico herself will soon do as Spain did with respect to Mexico, yield to circumstances, and recognize the Independence of Texas, whom she has not the remotest chance of conquering, and whose hostility she may well dread.

One of the earliest acts of the Texan Government was a proposal to join the United States. This it did, not merely from a natural attachment to the older States from which the Texans had emigrated, but because they were aware how constantly that annexation had been sought by the States themselves. Fortunately for Texas—very unwisely in my judgment for the United States, the proposal was declined. It was declined in one of those wild paroxysms of public excitement to which all free people are exposed. Men's minds were heated with the fierce discussions about the Abolition of Slavery, and they would see in Texas nothing but a new field for slavery—and a dangerous increase of power to the slave-holding States. It was in vain to say that Texas could not possibly add a single slave to the Union—that by her own Constitution she had prohibited the foreign slave-trade, and that her admission into the Union, by bringing her under our own laws forbidding the slave-trade, was the most effectual mode of suppressing that trade—and that therefore her only influence on the slave question would be, to weaken the evil of slavery by diffusing it, and to furnish an outlet for the black population of the Atlantic States, so as to relieve them gradually from their slaves. Then with regard to political power. Both Mr. Adams's party and Mr. Jackson's party had endeavoured to bring Texas into the Union—had agreed to stipulate with a foreign power, and thus pledge irrevocably the public faith, that Texas should be introduced into the Union as Louisiana was, without any restriction as to the number of States into which she should be divided, or the number of slaves she might contain; and now she asks admission merely as a single State, with no power of division except what may be allowed by a majority of the other States. It was in vain to say all this, because it was only reason—and the question was to be decided by party passions. The result was, that after offering five millions for a part of Texas, the whole came to us for nothing, and we refused it—that after endeavouring to bring it into the Union in such a way as to make six or eight slave-holding States, we decline to receive it even as a single individual State. These caprices of our legislation I mention, to show that the rejection of the offer had no relation whatever to the character or condition of Texas, but was occasioned by causes entirely of domestic policy. The effect, however, of the refusal upon Texas herself is to make her at once a great Empire—leaving her resources under her own control, and placing her in a position much better than that of the States of the Union. For the difference between them is this. The old States who had originally their own lands have sold them all. The new States being formed out of the territory belonging to the Federal Government never had any lands—and as both the old and the new States have surrendered their whole power over commerce to the Federal Government, they derive no revenue whatever from the exports or imports within their limits. On the other hand the Government of Texas is the absolute owner of the whole public domain within its borders—and the exclusive receiver of all duties on exports or imports which it may choose to levy. She is, in fact, a State like one of ours, though not actually in the Union—but with all the social and political guarantees which a State can offer. She is not a State in this only, that she has a National domain and a revenue power which no State in the Union possesses. Look at both these resources—and *first of the Lands*. She has a public domain estimated at from 100 to 150 millions of acres. These I understand are for the most part cotton lands, richer than the cotton lands of any of our cotton-growing States, destined to be covered with the cotton-plant and sugar-cane, and offering the attractions rarely combined of an exuberant soil, &c., a healthy climate, with a great variety of products to tempt the adventurous industry of our people. My impression, too, is that as there lies on the East of the Rocky Mountains an immense region where the cultivation of the soil is very difficult and unproductive, the stream of population, instead of going directly across those Mountains, will turn to the South of them—and that the great route to the Pacific, the only resting-place of our people, will be along the Gulf of Mexico, through the lower South-Western States and Texas. The effect will be to give a constant increase to the value of the lands in Texas—so that these 100 or 150 millions of acres of land must be considered as synonymous with at least as many dollars. The public lands in Mississippi, often less valuable than these of Texas, sold at public auction, three years ago, for five, or ten, or even more dollars an acre, while the Government minimum price was $1 25.

Then, *as to the duties*. The crowded population of a country disinclined to manufacture, will require large importations of foreign goods. Their abundant exports will furnish the means of paying for them,—and the duties on commerce, though fixed at a very low rate, as from policy they would naturally be, cannot fail to yield an abundant revenue.

Here then is a country—for a part only of which the United States offered five millions of dollars ten years ago,—a country without any debt—with an economical government—with a public domain of at least 100 millions of acres, and an unlimited revenue from customs.

Nor is their disposition to pay less than their ability. You have heard in Europe as we have heard in America, a thousand wild stories about Texas. But all the new States have had in their turn to run this gauntlet of prejudice—the youngest State, like the youngest pupil at college, being obliged to bear the jokes and taunts of his seniors. But those who administer the affairs of the new Commonwealth, are highly respectable gentlemen, who have been in the public employ of their native States, and who have carried with them those deep-rooted opinions of the sanctity of contracts and the value of public faith which characterize all the States of the Union."

The letter of Doctor Hare[*] to Mr. Channing, alluded to in the early part of this postscript, reads thus:

"Philadelphia, Sept. 20, 1837.

To the Rev. Dr. Channing:

MY DEAR SIR:—About the beginning of this month I received your kind letter, and your well-written pamphlet respecting the annexation of Texas to the United States. I should be willing agreeably to your suggestion to join with my townsmen in a meeting for the purpose of deprecating such a connection with that country. But, on the other hand, I am not insensible to the disadvantage of having an independent sovereignty so near to us, and should not be surprised, allowing for the usual diversity in human opinion, if some of my fellow-citizens should consider the evils of annexation the lesser of the two.

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[*] It would be seriously wronging both Mr. Biddle and Dr. Hare, to hold either of them at all responsible for any part of the comments which I have thought it needful to make in reference to Mr. Adams and Dr. Channing. They have done nothing more than simply permitting the publication of their views as above indicated: and I have had at no time the least consultation with either of these liberal-minded gentlemen in reference to what it would be discreet for me to say in noticing the Anti-Texan chieftains alluded to. If any excessively amiable person, therefore, should discover too much asperity in the language which I have used, he will please concentrate his wrath upon the head of the *real* offender, who is prepared, if such a sacrifice should be judged indispensable, to fall a martyr to the infernal fury of that phrenzied and blood-seeking Fanaticism which is constantly disgorging itself from certain volcanic neighbourhoods in the land of the Pilgrims, towards the quarter of the Union where I have the honour and happiness to reside. For myself, and for no other, I say, to all scatterers of arrows, fire-brands, and death,

"Come on, Macduff!
And damned be he who first cries, Hold! enough!"

I conceive, however, that against the annexation of Texas it may very justly be urged, by the States in which slavery is not permitted, that although they are cheerfully willing to abide by their agreement with their old confederates that three-fifths of the slave population shall be represented, they are not willing to admit more confederates upon these conditions. Instead of seeking to benefit Texas by admitting that Republic into the Union, I should wish to see the United States step forward as a mediator between that country and Mexico, and thus to avert the evils of a continued war.

By a few millions, probably, especially should the payment be guarantied by the United States, the Texans could purchase a recognition of their sovereignty. The funds could be obtained in England, to be paid in that country by Texan produce, and in Mexico in British manufactures: no disadvantage which the United States could suffer as security for the debt, would be equal to those arising from a continuance of war in their vicinity. If such an arrangement could be entered into by a compromise, as a consideration for the abandonment of the scheme of annexation, no doubt it would have many warm advocates.

I do not concur with you in thinking the resistance of the Texans to Santa Anna as unjustifiable. They had settled in Texas with the understanding that they were to be under a Federal government. It follows, in my opinion, that when Santa Anna usurped the control of the whole country, and endeavoured to establish a consolidated government, the Texans were no longer held by their engagements—the breach of covenant was on the side of the Government of Mexico, not on theirs. Having deposed Iturbide under the banner of liberty, Santa Anna endeavoured afterwards to establish a despotic authority for himself. Of course he was an hypocrite as well as an usurper. It appears to me the Texans had been unwise to have submitted to him. They might, like the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire, ere long have had to pay a tax for wearing their heads.

Neither individuals or communities can be fairly judged by an abstract standard of right. It can hardly be urged against a community that they are not more correct than any other community. No one can, more than I, abhor the principle so often painfully acted on, that might gives right. But the right of conquest being almost universally the basis of existing national sovereignty, if the occupation of the wilds of Texas add another instance to the catalogue, it appears on various accounts one of the least blameable on record. Invading a thickly settled country, already cultivated and enriched by the labours of resident proprietors, is evidently a far greater wrong, and requires, on the part of the invader, a far harder heart than taking possession of a country in an unsettled and uncultivated state.

Besides, if wrong has been done in the occupation of Texas, it has been done to the Aborigines, not to the Spanish Americans; who never had to it even the right of occupation. So far as Texas was the abode of the last mentioned race, it does not appear that they were desirous of submitting to Santa Anna. But admitting that these Texans are invaders, not justifiable succeeders, let those who are not now enjoying the fruit of similar wrongs cast on them reproach. Is there any nation in Christendom of which the territory is not due to the right of conquest? Can the people of the United States, or the descendants of Pizarro or Cortes, complain with justice of the Texans? Let the clemency shown to the butchering army of Santa Anna and its bloodthirsty leader be contrasted with the sanguinary career of the conquerors of Peru and Mexico. In the former instance we see clemency towards a most cruel enemy; in the latter, kindness and hospitality were repaid with slaughter, persecution, and ignominious slavery.

To an anarchical government there can be no moral tie—Allegiance and protection being inseparable, the cessation of the one terminates the other. The dependence of one province upon others always has been, and must be, a mere question of expediency. The first question will be, is separation desirable? The next, is it practicable? or will the cost, in blood and treasure, be too great to make it expedient to attempt a secession. It is not improbable that a desire to employ slave labour, without which they could not expect the emigration of men of property from the neighbouring States, may have been one of the motives for their efforts to obtain Independence; but if there were otherwise a sufficient incentive to the change, would it be charitable to put the worst construction on their conduct of which the case admits?

I fully concur with you that slavery ought not to be countenanced by the individual, unless under the belief that the general welfare of the community in which it exists, taking both the slave and the master into view, require its continuance. But, while coinciding in this opinion, I have never been able to imagine any practicable plan for emancipation in our Southern States. If any such plan has been devised, I have never heard of it. The beneficial result of that resorted to by Great Britain is still contested. Were all the whites in the slave States removed, the blacks remaining their own masters, I believe that within a few years they would be found less happy than at present. Such has been the consequence of the extirpation of the whites in Hayti. I believe that the whites could exist better without them, than they could without the whites. But if, agreeably to the opinion of philanthropists, whose pecuniary interests and personal safety are not to be hazarded by the innovation, a feasible plan of abolition could be devised, how could it be executed? Evidently it must be accomplished in one of two ways, either with the consent and co-operation of the communities within whose sovereignty it prevails, or by civil war. The latter would be deprecated by every truly Christian and virtuous friend of abolition. To countenance any measures pregnant with the horrors of anarchy and insurrection is evidently inconsistent with religion or philanthropy. It follows that the heads and hearts of the slaveholders are the only tribunal to which an appeal can be made, and to this you appeal with eloquence and zeal; and I presume would not make the effort unless you entertained some hope of success. In the indulgence of this hope I cannot join with you. I believe that our Southern planters are generally a kind-hearted, hospitable, brave, and magnanimous race of men; still as they are not above human nature, I should be hopeless of an appeal to them on a question respecting which they deny our right or ability to judge for them, and which they conceive to hazard by its disturbance, not only the means "*by which they do live*," but the *personal safety of themselves and all those whom they hold dear.*

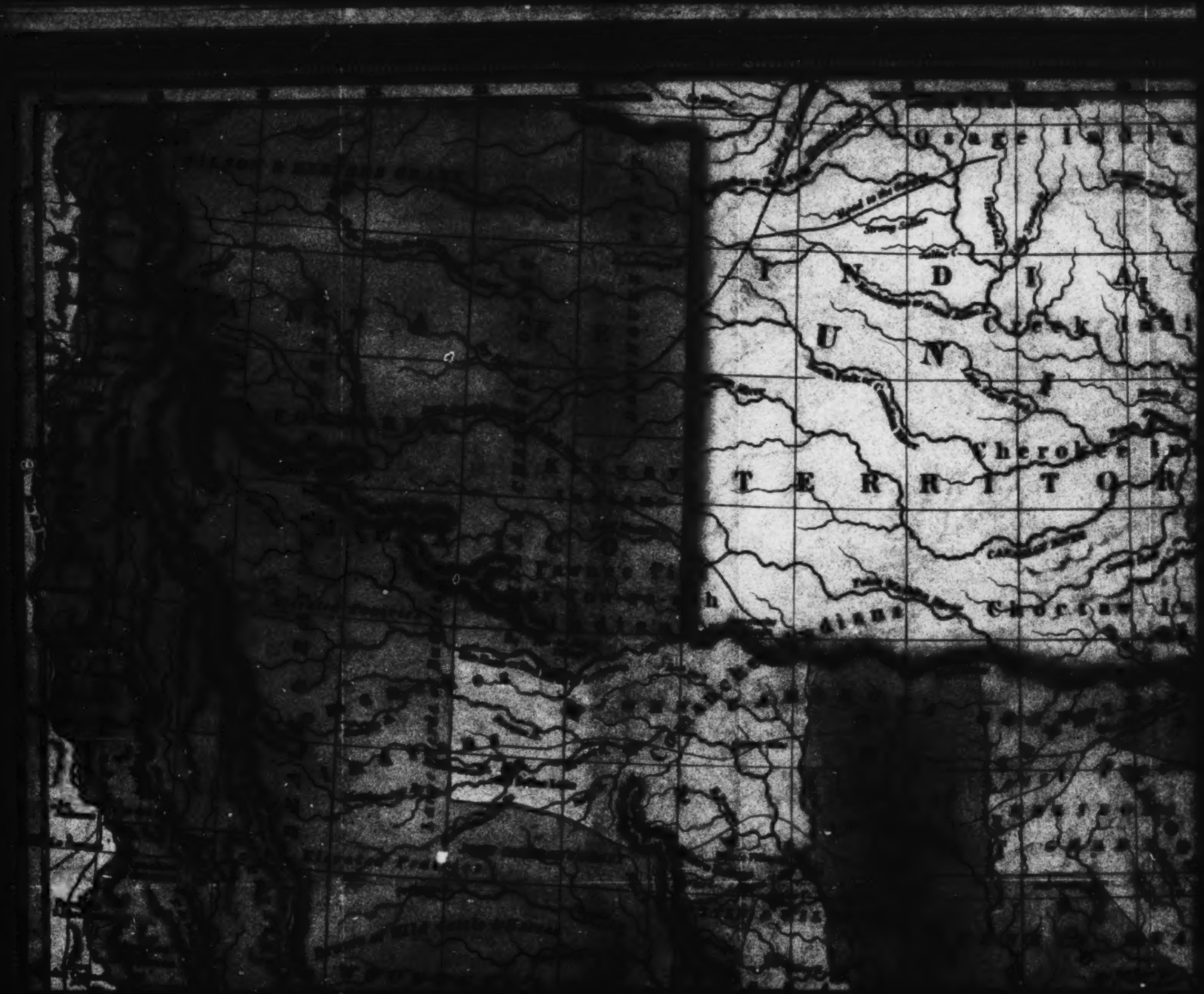
Before I could feel warranted in meddling with the municipal regulations of any country, I must be convinced that my interference will not do mischief instead of good; and that I have both a moral and constitutional right to move in the affairs in point. But were it, in my opinion, neither immoral nor illegal to interfere, I should deem it incumbent on me to perform all those duties which are *unquestionable* and within my immediate control in the first place, and then to give attention to such as are less obligatory and beyond my reach. While it pleases the Deity to allow certain evils, it is vain for man to put forth his puny might.

Faithfully, your friend,

ROBT. HARE."

To the REV. DR. CHANNING.

THE END.

Osage Indi
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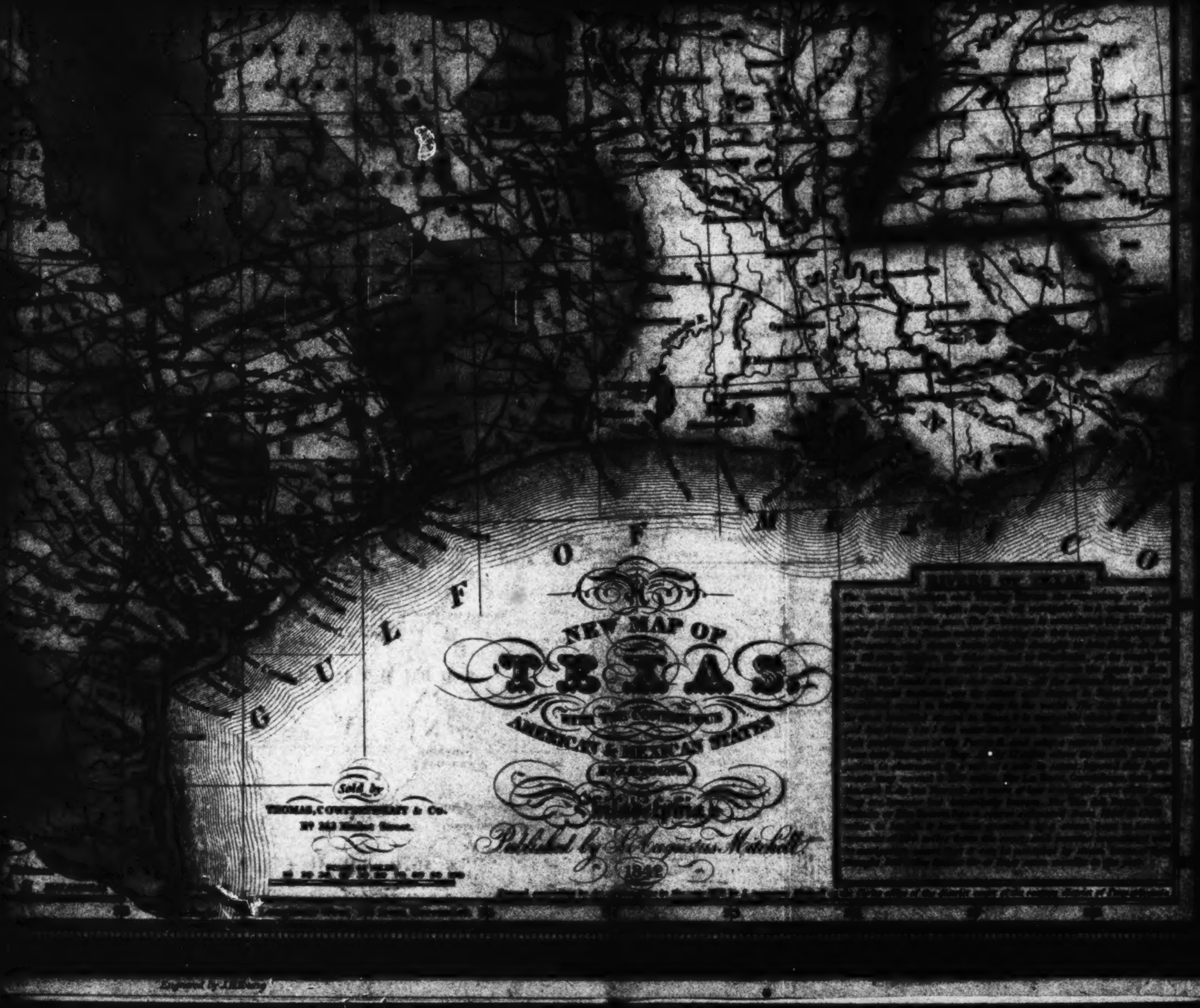
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